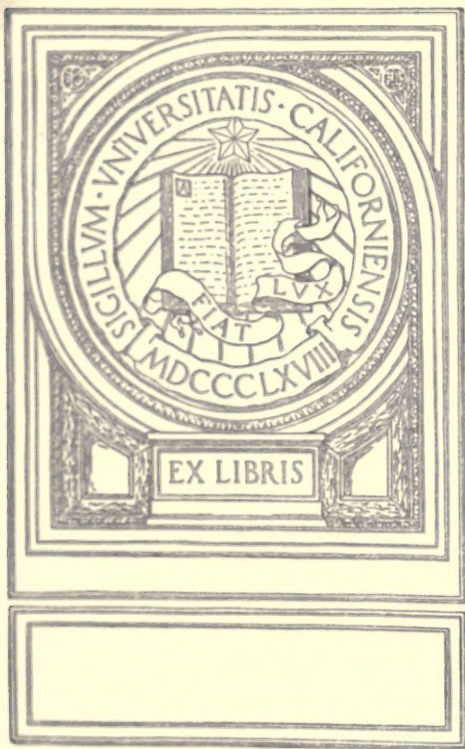


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TO

THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES YORK,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND;

THESE MEMOIRS of a Country so dear to him while he lived, and of a Period when that Liberty was established, which it was the chief Object of his Conduct to support, are dedicated by one, whose Sense of his Friendship and Virtues will cease only with

332296

with Life ; and who, alas ! once little thought, that this Testimony of Veneration would be all the Tribute of Gratitude left in his Power to render to the most exalted of Minds and the kindest of Hearts.

ORIGINAL PREFACE

T O

That Part of the MÉMOIRS which ends
with the BATTLE off LA HOGUE.

THE following Memoirs were undertaken by the advice of the Person to whose memory they are inscribed. He used to call himself a fugitive from the muses : And indeed, amidst his vast variety of business, he still sacrificed to them in secret. He advised me also not to trust to printed books for materials, but to get access to original papers. I followed advices which to me had the authority of commands, because they were always kind, and always just ; and I procured materials in England, Scotland, and France, far superior to what any single person has hitherto been able to obtain.

I am nevertheless conscious that they are not equal to the dignity of the subject. There are some family-memoirs in London of great authority, which I wished much to have seen ; but it

Vol. I.

b

required

P R E F A C E.

required a train of solicitation to get access to them, to which no man of common pride could submit.

Notwithstanding the advantages I have had, I found myself under great difficulties in giving a Review of the reign of Charles II. because that Prince made mere tools of his ministers, and even of his brother. The best key to the secrets of his reign lies in the dispatches of Barillon the French ambassador, which are in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères* at Versailles. Mr. Stanley gave me a letter of introduction to the Duc de Choiseul, in expressions which did honour to him who wrote it. Lord Harcourt and Mr. Walpole, considering the cause of letters to be the cause of England, seconded my request. The Duc de Choiseul, with that liberality of sentiment which distinguishes almost every Frenchman of high rank, gave directions that I should have copies of the papers I wanted. But Mons. Durand, in whose custody they were, having been, last summer, sent minister to Vienna, I have not yet received the papers; and in the mean time, as I have been very careless in giving away copies of the Memoirs to which that Review is now prefixed, some of these have been lost. It is usual for men to urge the fear of their works being pirated, as an affected excuse for their publishing at all: But, in my case, it is really a just one for publishing before this
Review

ORIGINAL PREFACE

TO THE

VOLUME of STATE PAPERS annexed
to the MEMOIRS, and which are
contained in the PRESENT EDITION.

THE papers contained in this collection are
so very interesting, that the Public has a
right to know from what sources they are
drawn.

His Majesty gave orders that I should have
access to the cabinet of King William's private
papers; justly considering history to be the
science of kings, and willing that the actions of
other princes should be tried by that tribunal of
public inquiry, which, he has reason to trust,
will do honour to his own.

Among many other papers in that cabinet,
which throw a blaze of light upon the history of
the last age, there are about two hundred letters
from King James to the Prince of Orange.
There

There is one considerable chasm in the correspondence, but this is luckily filled up by about fifty letters from the king to the prince, in the possession of doctor Morton of the Museum, who, with his usual politeness, permitted me to take copies. I believe that in these two collections there is not one letter wanting that King James ever wrote to the Prince of Orange.

The earl of Hardwicke, from a partiality to me which I cannot be so affectedly modest as to conceal, gave me copies of several curious manuscripts from the treasures of historical knowledge in his possession.

The earl of Dartmouth communicated to me, with other papers, a collection of letters between his gallant ancestor and King James, which, with memoirs of Bing, lord Torrington, in manuscript, that I received from lord Hardwicke, will, I believe, throw a new light upon the share which the officers of the fleet had in the revolution, and of the wise and honourable part which the commander of it acted.

Mr Graham of Netherby was so obliging as to permit me to keep in my hands, for many months, five volumes of his ancestor lord Preston's dispatches.

The reverend doctor North gave me the use of a variety of manuscript memorandums, written
by

Review was as complete as I wished to have made it.

I have generally quoted the papers, of which I have either the originals or the copies in my possession; others, I mean those of king James, although of the highest authority of all, I have not quoted, because I have no extracts. Since the first edition of the Memoirs was published in Scotland, I have fortunately fallen upon a collection of papers in London, which vouch almost all the new facts that are to be found in them. The papers I mean are those of the late Mr. Carte, now in the possession of Mr. Jernegan, who married his widow. They consist of very full notes, extracted from the memoirs of James the Second, now in the Scots College at Paris, written by that Prince's own hand, and of many original state-papers, and copies of others of the court of St. Germain. The extracts from the memoirs are in Mr. Carte's hand-writing, and he had an order for all these different papers from the Stuart family. I could have easily made a second volume of the papers in my hands; but am not fond of taxing the public for what only the curious in the history of their country care to read. However, if the public express any desire to see them, they shall still be published; and, if I receive Barillon's dispatches soon enough, they shall be printed with the rest.

P R E F A C E.

Every man who keeps good company, and does not combat every one he meets about his political principles, must hear many circumstances from men of different parties, which are not to be found in printed books, relative to a period so late and so interesting as that of which I have endeavoured to give an account; and these anecdotes are often better founded than facts which have been published. For a lie may live for a day, or a year; but it will hardly pass from father to son for near a century. In the course of my inquiries, I have often found a current report, of which no one can tell the origin, authenticated by a number of original papers. Some circumstances, therefore, which are in the mouths of all, although in no one's library, I have introduced into these Memoirs; where I did so, I have often expressed it; where I have not, it has arisen from an inattention which, perhaps, may be excused in one who writes only when he cannot better employ or amuse himself.

In order to give variety to the narration, and to avoid making reflections myself, I have often thrown what people thought, into what they said. This, though warranted by the example of almost all the ancient historians, and the greatest of the moderns, may, in this age, give an appearance of infidelity to the narrative. But I flatter myself a reader of taste will easily perceive
a dis-

a distinction. When the words are contained in a sentence or two, they are those which were actually spoken: When they run into length, the writer is in part answerable for them.

I have been told, that I shall draw enmities upon myself from the descendants of some great families, whose actions I have represented in colours belied by the principles and actions of their posterity; and that it was not to be expected, that a man of a whig family should have been the first to expose to the public the intrigues of the whig-party at St. Germain's.

I am sensible, that here I tread upon tender ground. Every man who treats of party-matters in Britain, must expect to make enemies on the one side or the other. And I truly believe I shall make enemies on both sides. But this is a price which we must all pay for our liberty; and God grant that it may long continue so. Yet, perhaps, I may find quarter from those who consider that I treat of my own ancestors, surely not the most inconsiderable in the united kingdom, as well as of theirs whom I may be supposed to offend; that I have an equal reverence for mine, as they can have for theirs; but that I have a much greater reverence for truth than for either. The first person who told me that there was evidence existing at Paris of the whig-intrigues with St. Germain's immediately after the revolution, was Mr. Hume. After I had satisfied myself that
his

his information was just, I told the great person by whose advice I undertook these Memoirs, that I had seen too much, and that I was afraid I must quit the subject. But his ideas of the regard which an historian owes to what he believes to be truth, shewed me the meanness of my own fears.

Some persons have complained to me, that, in the second part of this work, I speak too favourably of King James; I gave them this answer, That, though I would draw my sword against his family, I would not do injustice to any of their characters; and that I lived under a Prince who will not think the worse of his subjects for avowing such sentiments.

I was obliged for some new views of my subject to that store of original genius which animates the conversation of Lord Elibank. Mr. Hume corrected some erroneous views I had taken; appearing more anxious about my literary reputation than I am myself. I would return my thanks to several other of my friends for their corrections of the style, were I not afraid to make them answerable for the faults that have escaped them. Yet Lord Littelton, Dr. Smith, and Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, will pardon my mentioning their names, because they called my attention to that picturesque simplicity and choice of circumstances, which distinguish the historical compositions of the ancients; beauties, which, if I have not been able to imitate, I am sure I feel,

by his ancestor, lord keeper Guildford; one of the very few virtuous characters in public life, I am sorry to say it, that are to be found in the history of the reign of Charles the second.

Lord Rochford accommodated me with orders for copies of whatever public papers I wanted. For, attached to his prince, and a friend to that liberty, the love of which is inherent in the family of Nassau, he wished to see justice done to a revolution, in the conduct of which his ancestor acted so able a part; and which, by making the people safe, gave room for loyalty to the prince to become a virtue in the subject.

I have been obliged for papers to several other persons, whose names will be seen when the papers are recited.

But, perhaps, the person to whom I owe the greatest obligations of all, is doctor Douglas *, canon of Windsor; because he made me master of the use of those materials, which others only furnished. I know that he, who sees all men's merits but his own, will impute this avowal to the partiality of a friend; and when he does, he will flatter me greatly.

Notwithstanding these advantages, I still felt an uneasiness, which only those who are intent

* Now Bishop of Carlisle,

upon a literary pursuit, can form any idea of; at not being able to discover the causes of many of the irregular movements of Charles the second and his parliaments: for which reason I fulfilled, last summer, the promise I had made two years ago to the Public, and went to France, as soon as I heard monsieur Durand was returned from his ministry at Vienna, to try if I could find those causes in the dispatches of the French ambassadors who had been in England during that reign. The duc d'Aiguillon, with that liberality of sentiment which becomes the minister of an illustrious nation, and from respect to lord Rochford, who had recommended me to him, renewed the order which the duc de Choiseul had formerly honoured me with, for copies of whatever papers I wanted. Perhaps, for the sake of that philanthropy which is the first of human pleasures, I have reason to repent of my curiosity. But I will not anticipate the reader's pain; he will see too soon, in reading the following papers, the mean motives which actuated the prince, his ministers, and, at different periods, the whig, and the tory alike.

Monsieur Durand will permit me to thank him in public, for treating me in all my researches at Versailles, rather with the kindness of a friend, than with the civility which associates in the cause of letters are accustomed to expect from each other.

From

From comparing the notes which I took in France, with the copies of the papers sent me from thence, I find, in some instances, a difference in the dates between us, owing, probably, to my oversight; but in all other respects, the copies agree with the notes.

In the notes to the first volume, there are many papers referred to, which are in public libraries or public offices. I have not printed these, because the curious may have access to them in those places.

I am happy to hear that there is a probability of Mr. Jernegan's soon printing the late Mr. Carte's notes, from King James's papers in the Scotch college at Paris †, and that the originals of these notes are to be secured, at his death, to the university of Oxford; because they will vouch such facts in the first volume, as there are no vouchers for in this. The public cannot get a more important accession to the historical knowledge of the period to which they relate.

Some of the following papers contradict facts contained in the first volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications. This would be a mortification, if truth, according to the best of my abilities to find it out, was not my first object. Whoever corrects the relations of history, by the private letters of those

† They have since been published.

P R E F A C E.

who were the actors of the times, will learn, at every step as he advances, to distrust the opinions of others and his own.

However disagreeable this publication may be to the descendants of many of those mentioned in it, the extent of which I fully feel, because I have the honour to live in friendship with several of them; I flatter myself it will be useful to this country now, and to posterity afterwards, in the following respects:

1st, The discoveries made in these papers will lead men in public life to reflect, that however they may hope to hide their want of public virtue, in a pretended attachment to the interests either of loyalty or of liberty, the day of reckoning will sooner or later come, when, in the historic page, their true characters, and motives of action, will appear. But men, acting in free states, cannot have too many terrors hung out to control them; because, in such states as the virtues of men are greater than in others, so likewise are their vices.

2dly, The papers will show that when a king of England does not give a generous credit to the affections of his subjects, and the people of England do not put an honourable confidence in their prince, both king and people must be unhappy and inglorious. Perhaps too, this reflection may arise from the perusal of them, that
the

the defences which the friends of liberty do not scruple sometimes to throw around her, are more dangerous to her interests than all the assaults of her enemies.

3dly, Although the present exaltation of England, above all other nations, justifies a contempt of the supposition of other nations meddling at present in her domestic concerns; yet should this situation ever alter, posterity may learn, from these papers, that the prince who intrigues with foreigners against his people, does it at the peril of his crown; and that when the subjects intrigue with foreigners against their prince, they stake their liberties on the cast.

4thly, Which I mention with pain, this publication will show that there is no political party in this country which has a right to assume over another from the merit of their ancestors, it being too plain, from the following papers, that whigs and tories, in their turns, have been equally the enemies of their country, when their passions and their interests misled them.

And lastly, which I mention with pleasure, these papers will prove, far better than has ever hitherto been done, that the revolution was a work of the most absolute necessity; and that all parties, whig, tory, churchman, and dissenter, alike united in the great and generous effort to
save

dispatches lord Ruffel intriguing with the court of Versailles, and Algernon Sidney taking money from it, I felt very near the same shock as if I had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle.

THE

THE
C O N T E N T S
OF THE
F I R S T V O L U M E.

REVIEW of the POLITICAL STATE of
ENGLAND, from the Commencement of the
Monarchy, until the Restoration Page 1

C H A P. I.

From the Restoration, until the Fall of Lord
Clarendon's Ministry in the end of the year
1667.

*Popularity of Charles II. — Revival of Parties. — 1st
cause, The popular party unite. — 2d cause, The Roy-
alists not united — 3d cause, The jealousies in government.
— 4th cause, Carelessness of the King's personal character.
— Last cause, Suspensions of the popery of the royal
family. — Effects of these causes at the end of the first
Dutch war* — — 25

C H A P. II.

From the Downfal of Lord Clarendon's Ministry,
until the Prince of Orange's Marriage in the
year 1677.

Ruling public passions of Charles. — His wavering conduct about triple alliance. — Secret intrigue of the Duke of Buckingham and Duchefs of Orleans for the destruction of Holland. — Separate intrigue of Charles and the Duchefs for the same end. — Intrigue of the Duke of York with Popish Lords for the same end, adopted by Charles. — Secret money-treaty in the year 1670, with Louis, for the destruction of Holland, and the King's becoming catholic, concluded by popish counsellors. — Charles dupes his protestant counsellors in the year 1671, and makes them parties to the treaty, without their knowing the article for his popery. — The King's shifts to avoid declaring himself catholic. — First visit of the Prince of Orange to England. — High tone of the King and his protestant counsellors after he had duped them. — Bold courses of these counsellors. — They desert the King. — Lord Danby's ministry. — Several money treaties with France. — Double dealing and meanness of Charles in foreign politics. — His differences with parliament for several years — — — Page 35

APPENDIX to CHAP. II.

N^o I Letters from Charles II. to the Duchefs of Orleans; from Monsieur Rouvigny and Monsieur Colbert to the French court; and between Louis XIV. and Charles II. concerning the first secret money-treaty with France, concluded in the year 1670, by the
popish

C O N T E N T S.

xxvii

popish ministers of King Charles, for his declaring himself a Roman catholic, and the destruction of Holland; together with a draught of the treaty — Page 66—112

Nº II. Letters from Monsieur Colbert and the Duke of Buckingham, to the French court, concerning the second secret money-treaty with France, concluded in the year 1671, by the protestant ministers of Charles II. for the destruction of Holland; with the secret article of that treaty, unknown to his protestant ministers, for the King's popery — 112—121

III. Letters from Monsieur Colbert to his court; and other papers, which mark the characters and conduct of the Prince of Orange, the Duke of York, Lord Sunderland, the Cabal, and King Charles; with secret history during the second Dutch war, and the conclusion of the peace between England and Holland 121—139

IV. Letters of Rouvigny and Courtin concerning four secret money-treaties with France — 140—155

V. The Prince of Orange's knowledge of these treaties 155—159

C H A P. III.

From the Prince of Orange's Marriage in the year 1677, till the Fall of Lord Danby's Ministry in the year 1679 — 160

APPENDIX to CHAP. III.

Nº I. Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning the differences which the marriage of the Princess of Orange created between Louis and Charles, and the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party in parliament — 178—193

C O N T E N T S.

- N° II. Letters from Barillon to his court, and from the Duke of York and Lord Danby, concerning the destruction in parliament which followed these intrigues — Page 193—211
- III. Letters from Monsieur Barillon, to the French court, and Charles II. to Louis XIV. concerning an intended secret money-treaty with France in the year 1678; and shewing the intrigues by which Charles, who meant to dupe France, was duped by her in the peace of Nimeguen; together with Letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange at that period 211—248
- IV. Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning his intrigues with Mr. Montagu and the popular party to accuse Lord Danby in parliament; and from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in the mean time — 248—286

C H A P. IV.

From the Fall of Lord Danby's Ministry until the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II. — — — 263

A P P E N D I X to C H A P. IV.

- Letters from Monsieur Barillon to his own court; Charles II. to his brother; and the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, during the ferment of the popish plot and the exclusion 288—316
- Letters from Monsieur Barillon and the Duke of York to the French court, concerning an attempt to reconcile Charles and Louis by a secret money-treaty in the year 1679; and from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in that year — 316—333
- Letters from Mr. Montagu and Monsieur Barillon to the French court, concerning the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party — — — 334—346

Letters

C O N T E N T S.

xxix

Letters from Monsieur Barillon and the Duke of York to the French court, and from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, concerning the intrigues of France, the court of Charles, the Dukes of York and Monmouth, and the Prince of Orange, during the two last parliaments of Charles II. ; together with Charles's last secret money-treaty with France in the year 1681, which enabled him to act without parliaments during the rest of his reign

Page 346—392

P A R T I.

B O O K I.

Dispositions of the people upon the dissolution of the parliament. — Prosecutions. — The Duke's administration in Scotland. — Visit of the Prince of Orange. — King's distress in foreign politics. — Intrigue of the Duke's return from Scotland. — The Duke's situation. — Monmouth's progress through the Western counties. — The King's invasion of the charters. — Conspiracy. — Characters of the conspirators, and their objects. — Measures concerted. — Inferior conspiracy for assassination. — Disappointed by an accident. — Shaftesbury's retreat and flight. — Conspiracy delayed — renewed — discovered. — Death of Lord Essex. — Lord Russel's trial. — His parting with his family and Lord Cavendish. — Other anecdotes of his last hours. — Sidney's trial. — Anecdotes of his last hours. — Other trials and punishments. — The King's fluctuation about Monmouth.

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Monmouth.</i> — <i>Great power of the King and Duke.</i> — <i>Mean dependance of both on France.</i> — <i>Project for a</i> <i>popish army in Ireland.</i> — <i>Scotland modelled.</i> — <i>In-</i> <i>trigues of Sunderland against the Duke.</i> — <i>The King's</i> <i>death</i>	—	—	Page i
--	---	---	--------

APPENDIX to BOOK I.

Letters from Sir William Temple, Lord Godolphin, Mr. Sidney, the Duke of York, and Monsieur Barillon, concerning the differences between the court of England and the Prince of Orange, after the dissolution of King Charles's last parliament	—	—	67—80
Letters from Barillon, Lord Rochester, Lord Preston, and the Prince of Orange, concerning the bribe given by Louis to Charles, that France might be permitted to seize Luxemburg; and from Barillon, concerning the attempt of Montagu to form a new intrigue between France and the popular party, for securing the same object to France	—	—	81—112
Letters, and other documents, from the dissolution of Charles's last parliament till the defeat of the Rye-house plot, shewing the attach- ment of Charles and James to France, the coldness between them and the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of York's own cha- racter	—	—	113—131
Letters from Lord Preston, which shew that Charles, at the end of his reign, came to know of the intrigues which France had carried on with the popular party against him	—	—	132—144
Account, by lord keeper North, of the frauds committed in the management of Charles's finances	—	—	145—151
A very particular detail of Charles's last hours, by Monsieur Barillon	—	—	152—158

B O O K II.

Temper of the nation. — The King's declaration. — His situation with regard to his former opponents. — First steps of his reign. — New ministry. — Coronation. — Situation of the King with regard to the Prince of Orange. — Argyle's and Monmouth's preparations in Holland. — Argyle's expedition. — Monmouth's manifesto. — His first movements. — Declared king. — His delays, and retreat. — His defeat. — Account of his letters to the King. — His interview with the King. — His execution. — Proceedings of parliament. — Proceedings in Scottish parliament. — Temper of Scotland. — Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffreys — Page 159

R E V I E W



R E V I E W

O F T H E

POLITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY, UNTIL THE RESTORATION.

THE history of England is the history of liberty, and of the influence which the spirit of it, kept alive during a long revolution of ages, has had upon the constitution, the religion, the wealth, the power, and, above all, upon the dignity of the national character of the English.

The Saxons imported into England an independence derived to them from their ancestors beyond all history or tradition; and, although they seated themselves amidst the effeminacy of a Roman province, transmitted the manly virtues they had imbibed in their forests, to a posterity who valued the gift more than the inheritance with which it was accompanied. The best clauses of the great charter, for which so many of the Normans struggled in parliament, and died in the field *, were no more than transcripts

Freedom of Saxons.

VOL. I. A

* Lord Littleton, vol. i. with the authorities he refers to.

REVIEW OF THE

scripts of the laws of a Saxon Prince, and a Saxon great council.

Power of
the crown
upon the
conquest.

Upon the Norman invasion the subjects of William lost not their freedom even in conquest; an event which, in most nations, has been as fatal to the liberties of the conquerors, as of the conquered. That Prince and his immediate successor governed indeed by the sword, because they had a conquest to maintain; and they often trampled upon both the Saxons and the Normans; because these nations, standing on terms of mutual suspicion and hatred, were more afraid of each other than of the sovereign. Yet separately the Saxons and Normans endeavoured to pull down the power of those princes by insurrections, the unprosperous events of which only shewed the weakness of those who opposed, not their resignation to the will of a master: And united, they procured declarations of their joint liberties in parliament, from that monarch who had conquered the kingdom*.

But, after the reigns of the two first Norman Princes, the Saxons and Normans, respecting their common origin and common rights, united their interests, and made the great charter † an original condition of the settlement of the crown upon Henry I. an instrument of liberty which, by means of parliaments, established the political, and of juries, the civil rights of the citizens; and which, by subjecting to the laws, and to the laws only, their property, their persons, and their honour, conferred badges of distinction upon Englishmen, unknown to the citizens of Rome and of Sparta.

Declension
of the

The struggles of their posterity to get this charter renewed, which, although confirmed above thirty times
by

* Lord Littleton, vol. i. with the authorities he refers to.

† *Ibid.*

POLITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND.

6

by different Princes, was seldom renewed without compulsion, and their attempts to extend it, kept the flame of liberty alive. But the subjects jealous and bold, laid hold of almost every advantage which accident presented, to depress that sovereign power which the great charter was only meant to controul.

power of
the crown
soon after.

In the breaches of royal successions, ramparts were formed for the defence of the people: The concessions which had been gained from the crown, during the reign of Henry the First, who had a disputed succession to maintain, were extended in those of Stephen, of John, of Henry IV. and of Richard III. who were in similar situations.

How ef-
fectuated.

Advantages were in the same way taken of domestic dissensions in royal families, particularly of those which took place between Henry I. and his brother the Duke of Normandy, and between Edward II. and his family: But the designs of Prince John against Richard I. were not abetted; because the nation pitied and respected the misfortunes of a hero, who had carried the glories of the English name over most of the known globe.

Only four minorities of Princes have happened in the English government, in the course of seven centuries; for that of Edward V. was so short, as not to deserve being brought into the account. Yet the opportunities were seized upon the accessions of Henry III. Richard II. Henry VI. and Edward VI. with all the readiness of factions, which had been accustomed to a minority upon the change of every successor:

The ambition of great Princes is generally exerted at the expence of the freedom of those whom they govern: But the English, by indulging the ambition of Henry I. and II. of Edward I. and III. and of Henry V. against the liberties of other nations, derived security to their own. Parliaments seldom spared the treasures of the people.

REVIEW OF THE

ple, and the people never their blood, when they knew that the price paid for both, by the necessities of the Sovereign, was the continuation of the privileges of their countrymen.

The subject was satisfied to find occasions, whether in the weaknesses or in the crimes of human nature, to restrain the power of the crown, even by degrading the person of him who wore it. Edward II. and Richard II. were formally deposed by parliament. The same assembly refused to permit Richard Duke of York to sit down upon the throne, although he came with the intention to do so into their house, but appointed him regent over his and their Sovereign. Parliamentary commissioners were imposed upon John, Henry III. Edward II. and Richard II. In the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, parliaments acknowledged the titles of the rival princes alternately, according as victory declared for the one or the other; pleased in the successive changes of royal families to gain successive advantages for the people. Monarchy itself was trod down in the person of Charles I.

But, when the sceptre was swayed by able, daring, and fortunate hands, parliaments had recourse to regular and constitutional defences, adhering to the laws, and tempering liberty with loyalty. By such conduct, the haughty Edward I. was obliged, after every art of subterfuge, to confirm the great charter. In the reign of his martial grandson, the law of high treason, the most important of all laws in a constitution which admits, that, in some cases, the subject has a right of resistance, was defined and circumscribed with a precision unknown among other nations; and laws were repeatedly made * for the calling of annual parliaments; a security for the people which was not obtained, either when monarchy

was

* 4 Ed. 3. cap. 14. 36 Ed. 3. c. 10.

was destroyed under Charles I. nor when liberty was enthroned at the revolution.

The zeal for independence was not confined to the laity. Langton Archbishop of Canterbury was at the head of the nobles, who maintained the first great struggle for *Magna Charta* against King John. After the same act of security had by the aid of the bishops and abbots been extorted from his son †, they stood around it, with burning tapers in their hands, whilst it was read in parliament, and denounced curses against those who should infringe it. They concurred with the laity in most of their attempts to humble their princes. And Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury ‡, in defence of these parts of the great charter which protected his own order, placed himself at the head of his clergy, in regular opposition to Edward III. a Prince who could ill brook opposition to his will.

Spirit of civil freedom in churchmen.

The united spirit of laymen and churchmen rose equally against ecclesiastical tyranny. The prelates, as well as the nobles, stood by William Rufus and Henry I. || against the usurpations of Anselm. Both disclaimed their allegiance to King John, because he had given his to the Pope. If the church did not concur with the parliament, in support of the constitutions of Clarendon, which were intended by Henry II. as an eternal barrier to the encroachments of Rome §, it was because these constitutions struck not only against the power of that see, but against the power and jurisdiction of the English church. In the reign of Henry III. the dignified clergy refused to submit to taxes imposed upon them by the Pope, although submission was recommended by the King ¶: And the bishop

Common spirit of freedom in the laity and clergy against the church of Rome.

* Hume, in the reign of K. John. † Ibid. in the reign of Henry III. ‡ Ibid. in the reign of Edward III.

|| Hume, in the reigns of these Princes. § Lord Littleton, vol. 1. p. 72. et seq. ¶ Hume, in the reign of Henry III.

bishop of London exclaimed upon this occasion, "That; " if the mitre was taken from his head, he would clap a " helmet in its place." The parliaments * of Edward I. and III. of Richard II. and of Henry IV. and VI. were incessant in their expression of zeal, for maintaining the independence of their church upon that of Rome. As early as the reign of Henry IV. †, the house of commons petitioned the King to seize the temporalities of the church. The first reformer in Europe was Wickliffe, an Englishman. Henry VIII. in concurrence with the inclinations of most of his prelates, his nobles, and his people, threw off entirely the yoke of foreign ecclesiastical bondage.

The clergy of England may justly boast, that, while the churchmen of other countries, during the reigns of popery, were either aiding the King against the people; or the Pope against both; they supported the people against the former, and both against the latter.

Abolition
of slavery.

It must not be forgotten, that the love of freedom, which could not be controuled by the highest, stooped in mercy to the lowest conditions of mankind. That state of villenage, which in other countries required the force of laws to abolish it, disappeared without the aid of compulsion, in a country where the rights of human nature were respected, because those of the citizens were revered.

Causes of
the de-
clension of
royal
power.

The gradual diminution of the power of the crown was chiefly the effect of three causes.

First poli-
tical cause,
the want
of treasure

No sovereign power can support itself long, which has not the command of treasure and of arms. But, during several centuries after the reign of Henry II. the English princes possessed neither. The natural progress of the feudal sovereignty is to impoverish the sovereign; because, as all the subjects are his vassals, almost every subject

* Home, in these reigns.

† See the authorities in Hume, in Henry IV.'s reigns

subject who approaches the King has a favour to ask, and every favour granted is at the expence of the crown. Although the possessions of William the Conqueror were originally very extensive in England; yet, in the course of his reign, he diminished them greatly *, by gifts to his followers, in order to attach them to the fortunes of his family. His three immediate successors, who were prodigal in their tempers, and who had disputed successions to maintain, imitated with much less discretion his example. Henry II. indeed recalled the grants of his predecessor; but he was obliged to receive them back with a sparing hand. He likewise † introduced the practice of exchanging the military services of his vassals, for equivalents in money; a striking proof of the necessities to which he was reduced. The revenues of Henry III. and Henry VI. did not amount to 60,000 pounds a year. Those of intermediate princes could not be larger. The loss of the French provinces under Henry VI. diminished the royal wealth; because, while the expences of defending them had been defrayed by the nation, the profits they yielded had accrued to the crown. Queen Mary's revenue, after all the depredations of her father and grandfather, amounted only to 300,000 pounds. Those of Queen Elizabeth and James I. notwithstanding the increase of trade, and consequently of the customs, did not produce above 150,000 pounds more. The legal revenue of Charles I. upon which he was obliged to support all the national expence, and his own, did not exceed 700,000 pounds ‡. Hence the extortions of so many of the old Princes upon the Jews, of Henry VII. upon his subjects, and of his son upon the church. Hence the various attempts of kings to raise money without the aid of parliament;

* Hume, ii. 115.

† Lord Littleton, vol. i. with his authorities.

‡ Hume, in these reigns.

REVIEW OF THE

liament; and which parliaments sometimes overlooked; from their consciousness of the necessity which called for them. Hence the excessive attention of Queen Elizabeth to œconomy, which she well knew could alone keep her independent of parliament; and the sale of almost all the lands of the crown by her sister, herself, and her successor. Hence the necessities of the two first princes of the Stuart race created the first grounds of jealousy between them and their subjects. And hence, when with a rougher hand than lawful princes had used, Cromwel raised two millions a year from the people, he gave a splendour to usurpation, which monarchy had not for many centuries enjoyed.

Second
political
cause,
want of
arms.

Princes without wealth cannot expect that armies will implicitly obey them. The feudal militias, which, at the command of their Lords, flocked to the standard of the King, were ready at the same command to turn their swords against him. When the successors of Henry II. followed his example, in taking money from their vassals, in lieu of military service, they lost the resource even of those militias. Standing armies took not the posts around the throne, which the military tenants had quitted: For, Britain being defended by the sea, her princes had not the same pretence with those of the continent for maintaining standing forces to protect their dominions against foreign attacks. Temporary armies alone were therefore employed in time of war: But these, from their nature, defended the person, without securing the authority of the sovereign. Hence, in every war since the reign of Henry II. which English Kings have maintained against their parliaments, or even against any great body of their nobles, they have always been unsuccessful. Hence, when the long parliament endeavoured to wrest from Charles I. the command of the national militia, the only defence remaining with the crown, the torch which had
been

POLITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND.

Seen only lighting before, was instantly set to the war. And hence Cromwel, with fifty thousand soldiers at his back, kept in awe the most turbulent of nations, in the most turbulent of periods.

To these causes we must add the small extent of the kingdom, to which Wales, Scotland, and the northern counties, did not originally belong. In realms of moderate extent, the interests and injuries of all are known to all; the passions are communicated like fire from breast to breast; the correspondence of chiefs and of parties is exact; they can form or conceal their resolutions without danger; the people who are to execute them can be assembled in an instant; and the sovereign who invades the rights of his subjects, does it at the hazard of his own. Those ties, which for many centuries bound almost every subject of Spain and of France to his neighbour, in opposition to arbitrary power, were dissolved when all the separate provinces of those kingdoms were formed into two vast empires of unconnected citizens.

Natural
cause, ex-
tent of the
kingdoms.

The struggles against sovereign power, during a long period of the English government, were maintained almost solely by the nobles and prelates; because the ancient constitution of England, like that of all other feudal governments, was a monarchy limited by an aristocracy alone. In the reign of the Conqueror, all the lands of England which belonged not to the Sovereign, were the property of 700 of his vassals. These making an assembly nearly as numerous* as the present house of Lords and Commons united, had a right to sit in parliament; and, together with the bishops and abbots, were the only persons who enjoyed that privilege. By the constitution of the kingdom, the King could not levy taxes, without their consent: By their military tenures, the sword was

Power of
nobility.

* History of feudal property, chap. 8.

in their hands: The feudal arrangements gave them jurisdiction upon their estates, which extended to property of the highest value, and to life. In process of time, what Kings lost, their vassals often gained; and, as the crown waxed weaker, they grew more strong.

Fall of the
power of
the nobi-
lity.

But the progress of a feudal monarchy does not move in a more uniform direction, in yielding to the power of the nobility, than that of a feudal aristocracy, in giving way to the rights of the people. All nobles, from their superiority of rank, are exposed to expences in time of peace, which impair their estates; and they ruin themselves in war, paying, by what they suffer in their fortunes, for the laurels which they gain in the field. The grandeur and hospitality of the antient nobility of England were unparalleled in Europe. In foreign wars, they increased the splendour of their appearance, with a view to augment the superiority of their country in the eyes of foreigners. The loss of the French provinces under Henry the VI. tended likewise to exhaust the estates of the English nobles*; because, the habit of an expence to which they had been accustomed, while they enjoyed the revenues of those provinces, remained, after the means of supporting it no longer existed. Even in the common course of the partition of estates by succession, the power of great families came to be lessened, by being divided. The same exemption from military service, which the Kings had sold to their vassals, the nobles sold likewise to theirs. The nobility, however, still endeavoured to preserve the shadow of their former strength in the number of their retainers. But they were soon obliged to quit even that shadow, partly by the rise of the arts in Europe, which gave a new direction to the expences

* This is an observation of the wise Philip de Commines.

expences of the great; and partly by the jealousy of Henry VII. who multiplied laws against retainers. In the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, to which 80 princes of the royal blood fell victims, the antient nobility of England was almost exterminated; and the new nobility, created from time to time to prevent the order itself from expiring, had neither the dignity nor the pride of the old barons by tenure. The reformation lessened both the number of the ecclesiastical Lords in the house of peers, and the importance of those who remained. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. took a pleasure* in invading the jurisdictions, and humbling the pride of the great families. Their ministers and favourites were mostly new men, selected from the professions of the law and the church: There were only two of the order of nobility in the first council of Henry VIII. and seven out of twenty-six guardians, whom the same Prince provided for the minority of his successor. Henry VII. removed the last security which remained to the nobles, by facilitating the destruction of their entails; trusting thus the fate of the highest order of his kingdom to the effects of dissipation and chance in ages to come.

That power which had originally belonged to the crown, and afterwards to the nobles, fell in the end imperceptibly into the hands of the commons. Various causes contributed to this, besides the first great cause, the high spirit of the people, indignant of servitude, and, by their love of independence and justice, destined to be free.

Causes of
the rise of
the commons.

When the military tenures went generally into disuse, the sword of the people, hitherto employed to aggrandize the King or the nobles, became an instrument of power and consideration to the hand by which it was held.

1st cause.
--The
power of
the sword
passes into
their
hands.

B 2

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 7.

held. The feudal militias were, in the reign of Henry V. " exchanged for national arrays. And on these were ingrafted afterwards the national militias : Both, bodies of men composed, not of military tenants and their vassals alone, but in which every freeman grasped a sword who had strength to wield it, and in which all men transferred to their country those attachments which their forefathers had felt only for the persons of those who commanded it. These arrays and militias gave the more strength to the people, because they were introduced in times, when the military spirit flew from man to man, and from rank to rank, in the nation ; before the occupations of industry had become so incessant, as to make freemen deem it an infringement of their freedom, to be obliged to defend themselves ; and before the regularity of standing forces had thrown a false ridicule upon the man who should pretend to wield both a hammer and a musket.

2d cause.
---They
get free
laws,

From the civil wars of the Princes with their barons, and of the Princes with each other, the commons derived importance ; for whatever were the titles of the great, the swords of the many determined the contest. But while, in similar disputes in other countries, the multitude found the only rewards of victory in its pleasure, the commons of England insisted for more solid advantages as the price of their blood. In every law of liberty extorted by the nobles, or freely granted by Kings, to serve the ends of either, the commons, courted on all sides, were made sharers of the blessing.

and free
judgements.

Free judgements followed free laws. In order to curb the power of the barons arising from their territorial jurisdictions, the crown raised the dignity of the national courts of justice. The barons at first saw the importance

of

of the innovation: For, in order to weaken the connection between the King and those courts, they provided, in the great charter, that the courts should be stationary, and not follow his person, as they had anciently done. But by degrees they submitted, partly because they were conscious of their incapacity to give proper attention to proceedings of law in their own courts, and partly because they looked upon such attentions as inconsistent with their dignity. But, as the trust thus voluntarily reposed in the national courts depended long for its continuance upon the integrity of the judges, and uniformity of their judgements, a system of equal jurisprudence gradually arose, which, by binding the King, the noble, and the peasant alike, maintained the independence of the lower ranks upon the higher.

The enfranchisements of the boroughs, which were originally almost in a state of slavery, the disuse of villeinage, and the suppression of retainers and of monasteries, threw two great bodies of industrious, and two great bodies of idle men, who before had scarcely been members of the community, into the scale of the commons. But wherever men enjoy freedom, and see wealth held up to them as the reward of their industry, they will spring forward to gain it. During these innovations, the higher ranks at home were fond of expence, and the arts were rising all over Europe: England was full of inhabitants and provisions; many instruments of commerce, and some which other nations possessed not, were produced within herself; she was surrounded by the sea on all sides but one; replete with harbours and rivers; and her nearest neighbours, the Flemings, the most industrious people on this side of the Ganges, were a continual example of envy and imitation: In this situation, when new ranks were gradually thrown into the society, and pressed upon the old, both were obliged to exert an industry in husbandry, manufacture,

3d cause.
---By industry they get wealth.
Interior causes of industry.

manufacture, and trade, without which neither could have subsisted.

External
causes of
industry.

While these causes were operating upon the growth of industry at home, accidental circumstances from abroad completed the effect of them. The severities of Charles V. in Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany, partly on civil, and partly on religious accounts, and still more the religious persecutions, which, after his time, took place in France, the Netherlands, and Germany, induced vast numbers of foreign manufacturers to import their arts, their stocks, and their parsimony, into a country in which they could enjoy both liberty and their religion. These emigrations had the greater effect, because they happened at a period, when the flux of treasures into Europe from the new world gave additional incitements to the industry of the lower, and to the prodigality of the higher ranks of mankind.

The extension of commerce produced two immediate and important effects.

One effect
of industry
was to
change
the prop-
erty of
lands.

In the first place, it transferred a great part of the land property of the kingdom to a body of men, who, in the origin of the constitution, had hardly any share of land property at all. For, a great part of the money, which the commons acquired by commerce and parsimony, was employed in purchasing the estates of the nobility, of the church, and of the crown, which were thrown gradually into market, from the time of Henry VII. until the end of the reign of James I. This transition was the more important, because, it was made at periods when from the high interest of money, lands were sold proportionally low, and when lands, before the arts of improving them were introduced, did not produce one third of the rents which, in the course of a century, they came to yield to their new proprietors.

Another

Another consequence of commerce was to draw great numbers of men from the country into towns, for the advantages of mutual intercourse. But the republican form of government in which towns are conducted, the natural equality which takes place among fellow-citizens, the necessity for that security of property which is the basis of commerce, and the continual opportunities and habits which men living in public have to converse upon public interests; all contributed to spread and to fortify the sentiments of liberty.

Another was to increase the towns.

The train of causes and effects is as regular in the political, as in the natural world. Political power continually depends upon arms, freedom, and wealth. The commons of England rose in power exactly in proportion as they gained in these. By the feudal constitution, all who held their estates of the crown owed attendance in parliament: And those who held their estates in that manner in England were, as has been said, originally 700 in number. But when, by the partition of the original great estates, and the enfranchisement of boroughs*, the crown vassals were become so numerous, as to be incapable of being personally assembled, they appeared in parliament by their representatives. Parliaments for a long time consisted of the peers, and of these representatives, united in one assembly; and the latter, dazzled with the splendour of their associates, and representing an order which felt not as yet its own weight, were, during this period, of little consequence. But, in proportion as the commons gained importance, their representatives assumed it. And, when these were formed into an assembly separate from the peers, they extended that importance under the advantage of supporting

The commons gain parliamentary importance.

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 8.

supporting the interests of a separate body. The privileges of the commons became in time the greater object of attention; because, by the partition of the estates of the original great vassals, in the common course of succession, a numerous gentry had been formed, all of whom, although many of them had the best blood of the nation in their veins, sunk into the order of the commons, and therefore had an interest to defend those rights which were the foundation of their own. It is a curious fact in the history of English liberty, that the first person who was raised by the commons to the dignity of their speaker*, was a member who had been imprisoned by Edward III. for attacking his ministers and mistress in parliament. From the period of that Prince's reign, the house of commons regularly increased in consideration and power.

Interrup-
tion of na-
tional
freedom
under the
house of
Tudor.

But during the gradual declension of the power of the nobility, and the gradual rise in that of the commons, it was natural, at a period when the one order was weak, and the other knew not as yet its own strength, that the crown no longer opposed by either, should enjoy extraordinary powers. During this period, the family of Tudor filled the throne. It was fortunate, too, for Henry VII. the first Prince of that family, that, a civil war of thirty years having animated one half of the nation against the other, no common opposition could be made to his power: Yet even he was taught, by five rebellions, that, though a severe prince may sometimes invade the liberties of a free people with impunity, he cannot do it without danger. His son had still greater advantages; because the different religious parties who courted his favour were sensible, that the best way to obtain it, was to throw their liberties at his feet; and because, by the act of supremacy, all the power which had belonged to the pope,

was

* Hume, III. p. 9.

was united in his person to that of the crown. The reign of this Prince, therefore, afforded the first melancholy example, that parliaments may be the worst instruments of tyranny in the hands of a tyrant: Yet, by aiming at too much, he laid a foundation for the crown to lose all he had gained in its favour. For, in an evil hour for his successors, he made the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance a part of the constitution of the church: A doctrine utterly incompatible with freedom; and against which, therefore, the minds of free men never ceased to revolt. England recovered a ray of liberty during the minority of Edward VI. But it served only to make the gloom which succeeded in the reign of Queen Mary appear more dark. Yet even that female tyrant was obliged to dismiss two of the four parliaments which she assembled, because they would not comply with her will, and that of a husband who was as tyrannical as herself. Queen Elizabeth continued to possess the power of her family, although the commons had now come to feel their own weight, and although the spirit of the nation had been exasperated by multiplied insults. But many circumstances prevented that weight and that spirit from being exerted against her: Her popularity made opposition to her power unpopular: Upon the support of that power the protestant religion depended for the security of its own: Men forgot, in their danger from foreign invasions, the precedents that were established at home against the liberties of their posterity: Even the circumstance of the Queen's sex, with the romantic manners of the age, made her subjects confound their subjection to a sovereign, with their gallantry to a woman. By all the arts of woman, added to all the boldness of man, she staved off the evil day, which was to bring the power of the crown and that of the commons to try their strength against each other.

Struggles
for the re-
vival of li-
berty un-
der the
house of
Stuart.

The English constitution, by setting the legislative and executive powers in opposition to each other, contains the seeds of continual dissention. Political bodies opposed are never at rest; and every deviation from ancient usage is a step gained, or a step lost, for prerogative or for freedom: For, few Princes are wise enough to know, that no King can be truly great, the minds of whose subjects are not as high as his own; and few subjects are generous enough to acknowledge, that the same principles in a limited monarchy, which tie every citizen to another, should bind the whole to the throne. When a new family therefore was advanced to the crown, and from a country long feared and hated by those who bestowed it; at a time when the powers of the higher orders of the state, those of the nobility and of the church, were fallen; when the crown was possessed of power only recently obtained, depending only upon the imaginations of those who had been accustomed to obey, but without wealth or arms to support it; and when the commons possessed a great part of that superiority in all things which belonged formerly to the nobility, the church, and the King; the effects of the alterations which had happened in the conditions of the orders of the state quickly appeared: And that appearance could not fail to be attended with convulsions in the constitution; because old principles of government could not apply to new situations in the governors and the governed. When James I. advised his nobles to live upon their estates, and not about court, when he created peerages with a seemingly prodigal hand, for which he has been foolishly blamed, when he ordered twelve chairs to be placed for a deputation of the house of commons, because he said, "twelve Kings were at hand," he saw the tempest that was approaching. The house of commons assumed to themselves powers and privileges unknown to their ancestors; and, when they were provoked
by

POLITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND.

11

by their monarchs, aimed their blows in the end at the monarchy : And the Princes of the Stuart family, who saw the only orders of the state humbled, which had been accustomed to controul royal power, but who did not attend that another order had stepped into their place, considered even the assertions of ancient liberty, as innovations in the constitution, when the commons were the assertors.

An accidental circumstance in the English constitution hastened matters to extremes between the family of Stuart and the house of commons. From the most ancient times, the power of providing taxes had been committed to the representatives of the people, because the people were chiefly to pay them : A privilege of little consequence, as long as the revenues of the crown arose from demesnes and feudal perquisites, and taxes were, upon that account, small, temporary, and seldom levied ; and even as long as the crown could support itself upon the plunder of France, of the church, of all who would submit to be plundered, and upon its own ruins. But, when all these resources were gone, and government could be supported in no other way than by taxes, the power of giving these came to be of the last importance. And the commons, conscious of this, demanded, as the price of the money which they gave to the house of Stuart, that those breaches which the house of Tudor had made in the ancient liberties of England should be repaired. But, as both the crown and the commons rated their demands too low, and their concessions too high, disputes ensued, and contention closed the scene.

Circum-
stance in
the consti-
tution
which led
to ex-
tremes be-
tween the
house of
Stuart and
the com-
mons.

During these struggles, the nation ranged itself into two parties, known in the reign of Charles I. by the names of *Cavalier* and *Round-head*; and, at an after period, by those of *Whig* and *Tory*. The new gentry, the

Rise of
parties of
Whig and
Tory.

REVIEW OF THE

trading interest, the towns, the populace, brought accessions of strength to the house of commons, but, above all, the Puritans; that body of men, whom the same impatience of authority which had raised the church of England against that of Rome, spurred on against the church of England; who, taking their rise from the people, preserving the equality, simplicity, and rusticity of the people in the ranks of their clergy, and the modes of their worship, were averse even to civil authority; who were more dreadful than other persons, because they joined the republican spirit to that of enthusiasm; whose associates had stirred up civil war, first in Germany, then in France, and, lastly, in the Low Countries; and who were themselves ready to plunge into it in England and Scotland. Upon the other hand, the peers and prelates ranked themselves behind that throne which they had been accustomed to shake; the latter, because the Puritans were equally enemies to the crown and to them; and both because they knew, that, under the ruins of the throne, their own honours could not fail to be buried. The greatest part of the landed interest followed their example; partly from the fear of danger to their property in popular innovations; and partly from that contempt of the populace which landed men always indulge, and that connection with the higher ranks to which they naturally aspire. The Roman Catholics, knowing that their greatest enemies, the Puritans, were in the opposite scale, brought a zealous but inconsiderable addition to the weight of the crown. The antient nobility, in their struggles with their sovereigns, had stopped at deposing them: But the republican and puritanical commons, with a more democratical spirit, brought their Sovereign under the forms of justice, like a common member of the community, to a public trial, and a public

lic execution. With the same levelling hand, they laid the peerage, the church, the parliament, and the law itself, in the dust.

The civil wars, which accompanied and followed these last outrages, mark that state of disorder into which high-spirited nations are plunged, before they can accomplish a regular system of liberty, or are subjected to a regular system of prerogative.

It is a characteristic of Providence, which human wisdom should not however attempt to imitate, to employ apparent evils for the attainment of real good, and to render dissension, as well as union, beneficial to mankind. The British nation has made its way through many dangers and troubles: The parties, by which it has been agitated, may have, each in their turns, run to extremes: But the result of the whole has been a constitution, which by securing to all orders of men the rights of mankind, has never been equalled in any country. Nor is this blessing to be valued for itself more than for the national vigour and character which have been acquired in the attainment of it. Men are generally formed by their occupations and objects: Accustomed to important and perilous occasions, and engaged in the worthiest pursuits, those of equal justice and freedom, they become, like the subjects of Britain, high-minded, capable, and brave. From the continual attention to public affairs, the people have acquired a public and generous spirit: From the vigour and confidence of men inured to these, and secured in their rights, they have derived their success in every branch of science, and of every liberal and mechanical art, making manifest to all this animating truth, that the genius of nations is always in proportion to their spirit. We are too apt to regret as an evil the disputes and agitations of a free people; forgetting that, man's nature

Reflection
from the
foregoing
review.

ture being active, he must continue to act, or cease to exist; or, in the words of one of the greatest of philosophers, "That the lustre which he casts around him, like
" the flame of a meteor, shines only while his motion
" continues; and that the moments of rest, and of obscurity, are the same*."

* Ferguson's essay on the history of civil society, part v. § 2.

R E V I E W

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EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

CONNECTED WITH

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS.

THE Papers in my possession concerning the events of Charles the Second's reign, prior to the dissolution of his last parliament, relate to three distinct periods of time. The 1st is from the downfall of lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667, to the time of the Prince of Orange's marriage, in the year 1677. During this period, King Charles, the Duke of York, and their ministers, formed connections with France of the most dangerous nature to the religion and liberties of the subject. The 2d period is from the Prince of Orange's marriage until the downfall of lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679. During this period Charles wavered between Holland and France, the duke of York continued steady in his course, and the popular party in parliament formed connections with France against their Princes, of a tendency almost as dangerous as those which the Princes had formed against their subjects. The last is from the downfall of the earl of Danby's ministry, until the dissolution

lution of Charles the Second's last parliament. During this period, Charles renewed his connections with France, the popular party continued theirs, and France, by a train of policy, perhaps the deepest that is to be found in history, intriguing with both, triumphed upon their common disgraces. This review should therefore be divided into three chapters relating to these three periods. But it is necessary to prefix to them a review of events from the Restoration to the fall of lord Clarendon's ministry; because from the perusal of the whole connected together, an English reader may draw this instructive lesson; that the wisest thing a King of England can do, is to respect the interest of his people, and the wisest thing the people of England can do, is to respect that of their Prince.

C H A P. I.

From the Restoration, until the fall of Lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667.

Popularity of Charles II.—Revival of parties.—1st cause, The popular party unite.—2d cause, The Royalists not united.—3d cause, The jealousies in government.—4th cause, Carelessness of the King's personal character.—Last cause, Suspicions of the popery of the royal family.—Effects of these causes at the end of the first Dutch war.

UPON the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, there appeared in the joy of the nation, not so much the common affectation of public, as the effusion of private passion. Men thought all they could do for the son was too little in reparation for the murder of the father; and the new Prince, in his gratitude for this cordiality, seemed to have forgot the injuries done to both. It was a singular spectacle, to see a parliament, composed of many of those members who had torn the crown from the head of their late Sovereign, prostrate at the feet of the present one, imploring pardon in the name of the nation; and the vote for this

Popularity of Charles II.

D

Vol. I.

ceremony

ceremony presented by Denzil Hollis, one of the five members whom the King's father had gone into the house of commons to seize with his own hands. Several of the popular party were brought into the privy-council, and multitudes into office; three of the most noted, Hollis, Annelley, and Ashley Cooper, were gratified with peerages; an honour afterwards ill requited by the last of them, and forgotten by the other two. Two of the presbyterian ministers were made chaplains to the King, and bishopricks offered to three, though accepted only by one of them. The forts were dismanted, the army was disbanded; and for this last measure the most popular of all reasons assigned, "That the best guards which could surround a King of England, were the affections of his people." A project was discouraged by Clarendon, for the settlement of such a revenue upon the King, as would have made him for ever independent of parliament. Even from enemies and conquerors, Charles and his ministers borrowed wisdom; for they attempted not to revive the star-chamber, or the ecclesiastical commission-courts abolished by the long parliament; and they imitated the example of the republic in suppressing the court of wards. Charles privately promoted the success of the bill of indemnity in the house of commons, and he publicly checked the severity of the house of lords, in their proceedings upon it. His minister the virtuous Southampton, having proposed to give those prisoners, who had surrendered in obedience to the King's proclamation, the same number of days for saving themselves by flight, to which, by that proclamation, they were intitled before they surrendered, the nation respected his candour and compassion, and the King his spirit. Sentence of death was executed only upon a few who had pronounced the same sentence upon the late King, or whose guilt was equivalent. The most
cruel

cruel circumstance in the trial of those persons * was, that several of the popular party, of whom Ashley Cooper was one, sat as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them. Attention was shewn even to the prejudices of the populace: It was contrived, that the King should make his public entry into London upon his birth-day; and his coronation was delayed near a year, that it might be celebrated upon the anniversary of the tutelar saint of England.

The expressions of the King and of his court were calculated to restore good-humour to the people, and to reconcile the animosity of parties almost spent with contention. To the presbyterian clergy, who waited upon him in a body, Charles said, "I will make you as happy as I am myself." To his parliament, "I will as soon burn *Magna Charta*, as forget the act of oblivion." Clarendon, with a familiarity of expression, derived from the manners of an age in which the distinctions of rank had been levelled, told the commons, that, when the King heard any member was discontented he used to say, "What have I done to deserve this gentleman's dislike? I wish he and I were acquainted, that I might give him satisfaction." The same minister informed both houses, "That, when he was ambassador in Spain, he had received strict orders from his master, to lay the late King's murder upon a few of the worst of the nation, but to justify the nation itself." When Charles, in excuse for seeking money from the commons, said to them, "That he could afford to keep no table except that at which himself eat; and that it troubled him to see so many of them come to wait upon him at Whitehall, and go away without their dinners,"

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* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 59.

the juvenile pleasantries was received with smiles of indulgence: But, when he added, "That he was ashamed not to have it in his power to provide for those cavaliers who had been ruined for his father," a nobler feeling arose in the breasts of his hearers*.

To actions and words so engaging, the two first parliaments of Charles II. during the first five years of his reign, made every return that could be expected. They voted him a revenue of 1,200,000 pounds a year; a provision, which, though found afterwards inadequate to the expences of government, was the greatest which any parliament had ever made for any King of England. All coercive power, even in both houses united, over the person of the King, was renounced. With the command of the militia, the power of the sword was restored to the crown. The obnoxious triennial act was repealed, which had made provision for the assembling of parliament, even without consent of the Sovereign. An act was passed, by which Charles was empowered, during a limited time, to purge corporations of those magistrates whose principles he suspected. The hierarchy, that great support of monarchy, was replaced in all its grandeur. And the doctrine of non-resistance, a principle so dangerous to liberty, though frequently grievous even to its authors, was brought back into the tenets of the church, and confirmed by an oath, required of all her members. So that every advantage which Charles could reasonably wish for, in revenue, in arms, in religion, and in political power, was bestowed upon him. Only to the King's dispensing power, his parliament, even in the height of its loyalty, would not submit. For, when †, in the year 1662, he published a declaration of indulgence, in which, under many reserves, he asserted the dispensing power,

and

* Ralph.

† Bishop's trial, p. 782.

and intimated his inclinations to soften the more severe parts of the penal laws against persons who were not of the established religion, the house of commons informed him that the crown had no such power, and urged him to recal his declaration; and the house of lords could be brought no further, than to pass a bill, which empowered him to make the dispensation he wished for; a bill which implied, that without leave of parliament, the King had not the dispensing power which he aimed at.

Yet, amidst these promising appearances between Prince and people, there lurked the fruits of past dissensions, and the seeds of future ones. Revival of parties.

The spirit of liberty, which had been awed by the sense of danger, or had appeared to be smothered in the rejoicings of the public, gathered force in secret from its interruption. It had been agreed at the restoration, that the political pretensions of the executive and legislative powers, which had been the subject of the war, should be passed over in silence. Hence the occasions of contest, which had subsisted almost from the time of the conquest, remained as open as ever between those powers, whose movements were now only suspended by their own fears, and by their awe of the sentiments of the people, to which both were obliged to appeal, when they could appeal to no compromise. The friends to the constitution were therefore anxious that it should not become worse, since it had been made so little better. 1st cause.
The popular party unites.

Many of the republicans too from nature could not, and others from conscience would not, relinquish their old principles; and, when the republic they adored was no more to be obtained, converted their hatred of monarchy into jealousy of the monarch.

To these two bodies of men, the dissenters, their ancient allies, joined themselves, partly from a continuation of their original principles, but more from recent enmity;

enmity; for, the presbyterians complained, that the King, by consenting to the act of uniformity, the ejection of 2000 of their clergy in one day, and the five mile and conventicle acts, had, at the instigation of the church, broken the faith which he had plighted to them at Breda.

ad cause.
The roy-
alists not
united.

Even many of those persons, whose natural connections should have bound them to the throne, ranked not behind it, or were unable to give it support. The higher ranks of the nation were thinned by war, or impoverished by forfeiture. Many of their daughters had been married, in times of distress, to Cromwell's officers, or to the clergy who then prevailed: Many of their sons had engaged in trade: And all these forgot the ancient sentiments of their families, adopted new ones, and added dignity to them. While the country party, by their constant residence in England, knew the merit of every pretender to importance, yielded to direction, and acted as an united body in parliament, the cavaliers *, who had been scattered all over England and Europe, ignorant of each other's characters, while every man was confident of his own, would not submit their sentiments or conduct to each other. The competition for royal favour and gratitude, between old and recent services, and between different degrees of sufferings in the cause of royalty, at a time when every man thought his own services and sufferings the greatest, tended still further to throw dissension into a party, which distress had combined, but success tore asunder. Some of the royalists † were alarmed even with the loyalty of the nation, being apprehensive, lest, in the tide of the King's popularity, the just rights of the people might be lost. Charles's own inattention to too many of the cavaliers who had suffered in his cause, which

* Clarendon's continuation, vol. I.

† Lord North's memoirs. North's examen, p. 426.

which arose partly from his inability to serve them, and perhaps, partly from the uneasiness which the consciousness of his obligations to them gave him, lost him many of that faithful band. It was wittily said, "That the act of oblivion was an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends."

The remembrance of past, the fear of future evils, infused a jealousy into the government of Charles, which widened the divisions of his subjects, when a more generous conduct would have closed them.

3d cause.
Jealousies
in govern-
ment.

The army had, with reluctance, submitted to the order of disbanding: In the fullen manner, and frequent meetings of the soldiers, before they were brought to the place of dismissal; and, when upon the field, in the fierceness of their looks, which were thrown alternately on the King, and on their own ranks; the violent emotions and uncertainty of their spirits were distinctly visible. The officers therefore, who, by disbanding them, had submitted to lose their own independence, in order to secure that of their Sovereign, thought some returns of confidence were due to such generosity. Of a profession to be won by honourable trust, their pride was hurt in the tenderest part; when, a few months after, all the disbanded officers were ordered by a proclamation to depart five miles from London, upon a trifling insurrection of sixty Millenarians. They were still more provoked, by finding, in all the accounts of insurrections published by authority, their order accused as the source of them. When the French and Dutch fleets threatened the coasts of England, and these officers pressed forward beyond others to defend them, their fidelity to laws which they might have overturned was acknowledged, but forgot as soon as the danger was over. The soldiers too felt the injuries done to their officers. They were fifty thousand in number, and many of them younger sons of gentlemen;

REVIEW OF EVENTS

gentlemen, and tradesmen*, whom Cromwell's high pay had induced to enter into the service. So that the discontents of the army infected the whole mass of the people.

The more rigid sectaries, from being continually suspected, came to deserve suspicion. When the malecontents threw the blame of burning London upon the Roman catholics, the court, by a mean retaliation, imputed the fatality to the sectaries. These men were driven to despair upon perceiving, in the expressions not only of the King's proclamations, but of the laws, which should be the sacred repositories of truth alone, that they and the malecontents were blended together, as if no man could differ from the church, without being a traitor to the state.

Clarendon, whose views were narrowed by his profession, and whose mind was weakened by his fears, spread rumours of plots and insurrections incessantly in parliament and in the nation; thus throwing a gloom over the commonweal, through excess of attention to its welfare, and keeping the memory of divisions alive, which should have been heard of only in their effects. Even from the silence of party, he derived proofs of sedition: "*Novum seditionis genus*" (said he from Livy) "*silentium otiumque inter cives.*" "A new kind of sedition, silence and inaction among the citizens." Mobs were swelled into insurrections, and insurrections into concerted rebellion. In times of suspicion, all the goals in the kingdom were filled with state prisoners, and even during peace, the court swarmed with informers, and the country with spies. By such language, and such measures, many well-disposed persons were driven out of the middle course, in which they were steering, when they

* Whitlock's Swedish Embassy.

they heard that their love of liberty was imputed to their hatred of the court.

The King's manner of living and conversation, which, by exposing his faults to those around his person, reconciled them to their own, gave offence to others at a distance, who reflected not how agreeable to the little are the weaknesses of the great. His amours appeared crimes in the eyes of his subjects, who had been accustomed to make no distinction between vices and crimes. His want of economy provoked men, amongst whom the manners of the age made private parsimony be accounted a virtue. The whig party, at one of their meetings, proposed to impeach some of his mistresses upon account of the poverty in which their extravagance had involved him: But old Lord Mordaunt said, that, "They ought rather to erect statues to the ladies who made their lover dependent upon parliament for his subsistence." * To many he appeared to hold government itself in too little respect. And a saying of his, "That he attended the debates of parliament, because they diverted him as much as going to a play," was disobliging to many, who, in those days could not, without sentiments of reverence, hear the name of parliament pronounced.

4th cause.
The carelessness of the King's personal character.

But that which above all things made the people uneasy in themselves, and jealous of their prince, was their sentiments with regard to popery. The efforts actually made, and the suspicions that more were continually making by the Roman catholics, to re-establish their lost power, and their forbidden faith, together with the assassinations and massacres encouraged by too many even of their clergy, had filled the minds of protestants all over Europe, during more than a century after the reformation, with terrors by day, and dreams by night.

Last cause.
Suspicious of the popery of the royal family.

VOL. I.

E

Elizabeth,

* King James's Memo

Elizabeth, whose title to the crown was denied by the Pope, whose life was in continual danger from the catholics, and who owed her greatness, at home and abroad, to her being accounted the head of the protestants, urged her parliaments for rigorous laws against popery, and, without persecution, maintained them with firmness. But James I. whose dangers and ambition were not so great, slackened the reins, at first from some liberality of thought derived from reading, afterwards from an inclination of temper to favour whatever the puritans hated, and, in the end, from the vanity of marrying his son to a daughter of Spain or France. Charles I. had great obligations to the catholics, and suffered for having shown his sense of them; circumstances which, in the minds of many, united his cause with theirs, and made them interpret his zeal for the church into a bias for popery. These family-suspensions were accumulated upon the head of Charles II. Even the church dreaded his foreign education, a mother's anxiety, and was jealous of popery lurking in the breast of the King and his brother.

Effects of
these
causes ap-
pear at the
end of the
1st Dutch
war.

In this disposition of the minds of men, war, fire, and pestilence, the three worst scourges of human life, having been united at the conclusion of the first Dutch war, by inspiring melancholy, affected the tempers of the people of England. The parliament petitioned Charles to disband his army, attacked his servants, declined to give him supplies, and drove Lord Clarendon into exile, though his first minister, and father-in-law to the Duke of York.

C H A P. II.

From the downfall of Lord Clarendon's ministry, until the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677.

Ruling public passions of Charles.——His wavering conduct about triple alliance.——Secret intrigue of the Duke of Buckingham and Duchess of Orleans for the destruction of Holland.——Separate intrigue of Charles and the Duchess for the same end.——Intrigue of the Duke of York with Popish Lords for the same end, adopted by Charles.——Secret money-treaty in the year 1670, with Louis, for the destruction of Holland, and the King's becoming catholic, concluded by popish counsellors.——Charles dupes his protestant counsellors in the year 1671, and makes them parties to the treaty, without their knowing the article for his popery.——The King's shifts to avoid declaring himself catholic.——First visit of the Prince of Orange to England.——High tone of the King and his protestant counsellors after he had duped them.——Bold courses of those counsellors.——They desert the King.——Lord Danby's ministry.——Several money treaties with France——Double dealing and meanness of Charles in foreign politics.——His differences with parliament for several years.

Charles's
ruling
public
passions.

THE ruling public passions of Charles the II. were love of the French, and antipathy to the Dutch nations, to which many causes contributed. His love of France was formed on the natural gaiety of his temper, the hours of youth spent in a country where men enjoy all the pleasures, and appear to feel none of the pains of life, and his partiality to a constitution in which it must be the fault of the Sovereign himself if he ever meets with opposition. The manners of the people of Holland, so opposite to his own, and the form of their government, similar to that which had nearly destroyed monarchy in England, created his personal dislike. The affronts which they had put upon the youth of his nephew the Prince of Orange, and the high tone which they assumed, and which is natural to all maritime powers, because they can insult every where with impunity, hurt his pride. He envied the glories of Cromwell, who had humbled the then masters of the ocean. Necessitous from the parsimony of parliament, he hoped to supply his wants by the plunder of a people, who at that time were possessed of most of the wealth of Europe. And, by raising the English trade upon the ruins of the Dutch trade, he flattered himself, that he might both please the nation, and increase his own revenues by the increase of his customs. A few years after he was restored to his throne, he had taken advantage of the national jealousies of the English; and, converting the piques of merchants into the quarrels of nations, had engaged England in a war with Holland. During that war, he offered to abandon all Flanders to France*, if she would not interpose to save Holland from the power of his arms. The ill-humours of parliament, the disgrace at Chatham, and the junction of France and Denmark with Holland, which gave occasion
for

* D'Estrades, 1665.

for an observation of Lewis XIV. "That the English
 " saw no coasts except those of enemies, from Bergen to
 " Bayonne," obliged Charles, against his will, to desist
 from that war. Whilst the peace of Breda, which put
 an end to it, was forming, Charles was receiving by the
 hands of Lord Hollis his ambassador to the Dutch, pro-
 jects from a Frenchman, Gourville, (whom Voltaire ho-
 nours with the title of friend of the Prince of Condé)
 for a strict connection with France, and for lulling De
 Wit into a fatal security, by those personal flatteries,
 which republicans are too apt to take kindly from prin-
 ces; projects, which Charles, who was the greatest dis-
 sembler, and the best actor that ever sat on any throne,
 readily adopted *.

Soon after, indeed, he entered into the triple alliance
 with Sweden and Holland to protect Flanders from the
 sudden pretensions of Louis XIV. in right of his wife.
 But before he did so, he had privately made advances to
 France, to prevent his being obliged to enter into that
 alliance; but they were disappointed by the circumspec-
 tion of the French court, which received them not so
 readily as he expected. The treaty was however no
 sooner finished than he wrote apologies for it to his sister
 the Duchess of Orleans, and to Lewis the XIV. And
 amidst the rejoicings for the triple alliance, Sir Thomas
 Clifford, who possessed more of Charles's confidence than
 any of his ministers ever did, betrayed, by an unguard-
 ed expression, the secret intentions of his master: "Not-
 " withstanding all this joy," said he, "we must still have
 " another Dutch war."

But before Charles ventured, after entering into that
 alliance, to express in more than whispers to Monsieur
 Rouvigny, who was by accident then in England, the
 vengeance

Secret in-
 trigue of
 the Duke
 of Buck-
 ingham

* Vide a full account of this treacherous French intrigue in
 Gourville's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14, 65, and 160.

and Du-
chefs of
Orleans
for the de-
struction
of Hol-
land.

vengeance which he meditated against Holland, the Duke of Buckingham, who either was, or thought he was, a favourite of the Duchefs of Orleans, was carrying on a project, unknown to his master, with that Princess, for bringing about a secret alliance between the two Kings for the destruction of Holland. He first broached it to Rouvigny, and afterwards carried on the correspondence with the Duchefs by means of Sir Ellis Lighton. She desired him to enter into a communication with Monsieur Comminge the French ambassador; but, in order to gain importance to himself, by managing the affair with her only, he declined it. On the 23d of January, 1668, Charles had signed the triple alliance for the preservation of Holland; Two letters from Charles to Louis and the Duchefs of Orleans, in the Depot des Affaires Etran-geres at Versailles, show, that on the 3d of February, Charles sent Sir John Trevor ambassador to Paris to regulate matters on the footing of that alliance. But from Buckingham's letter to the Duchefs in the same repository, of date 17th February, it appears, that the negotiation between him and her for defeating the ends of it, had, at that time proceeded some length.

It was, however, several months before the sollicitations of the Duchefs of Orleans and Buckingham with Charles produced any considerable effect. He indeed continued his communications with Rouvigny, and offered a secret league offensive and defensive, and a perfect participation of measures with France. But Louis and he, each distrusting that the other would betray the secret to the Dutch, hesitated who should make the first advance; and Charles stood in awe of his people, though he had fatally imbibed an opinion in his exile, that he had an interest separate from theirs.

At

At last, in the winter of the year 1668, he made a proposal in writing, by his ambassador Lord Hollis at Paris, for a secret alliance with Louis. But reflecting upon the danger of entrusting the conduct of a treaty for the destruction of a republic, to a man who had drawn his sword in a republican cause, he soon after ceased to make use of the services of Hollis. Unhappy, and irresolute whom to trust, he declined treating with Comminge, under pretence that he was a weak man; he desired his sister to put no confidence in Buckingham, who he thought would abuse it; and proposed that the conduct of the treaty should be confined to her and himself only. Louis consented, with that mixture of gallantry and politics in which he constantly found his interest, while he pretended to sacrifice the last to the first; for he had intelligence, that the Duchess who possessed all the beauty and intriguing spirit of her mother, had gained the complete dominion of her brother's spirit; that, on taking leave of her when she went to France, he had been seen often to weep; and that he had granted every favour which she had at that time asked for any of his subjects.

Separate
intrigue of
Charles
and the
Duchess
for the
same end.

But Charles's difficulty in finding persons to trust with the conduct of the secret treaty he intended, was unexpectedly removed by the accident of the conversion of the Duke of York. The ruling passion in that Prince's breast was zeal for religion. For this, even whilst a youth and an exile, he had broken through the laws of discretion and of nature, by insisting that the Duke of Gloucester should be taken from his mother's arms, to prevent her enticing his youth to the popish religion. The Duke's attachment to the Roman catholic religion was the stronger, because he believed that it was the result of his reason: For he had long studied the controversy, before he ultimately fixed his faith, and was not converted until the beginning of the year

Secret in-
trigue of
the Duke
of York
with po-
pish lords
for the
same end.

1669. Symons, a jesuit, was the person to whom James owed this change, and his family its ruin. The same zeal which made the Duke avow his conversion, persuaded him, as soon as it was completed, that he could not expiate former errors, without extending the effects of that conversion to the rest of human kind. On the 25th of January 1669, a plan was formed in his closet with Lord Clifford, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, both of the popish religion, and Lord Arlington who was well affected to it, and died in the profession of it *, for a secret treaty with France for that purpose. In an evil hour for Charles II. Clarendon had taught him, in the very first years of his reign †, to receive money from France, unknown to his people: Presuming upon the same aid, the Duke and his three associates, formed the project of a treaty between the Kings of France and England, the provisions of which were to be, that Louis XIV. should supply Charles with money, in order to enable him to re-establish the popish religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; send forces to his assistance, in case insurrections should arise in his kingdom; and, after the interests of religion were secured, and Charles was quiet in the possession of his power, that the two monarchs should join their forces by sea and land for the destruction of the Dutch commonwealth.

The scheme was immediately laid before Charles, who adopted and improved upon it: For he added to the project, that upon the death of the King of Spain without issue, the dominions of Spain in Europe should be secured to France, and her dominions in the new world, together

* Barillon says so in one of his letters at Versailles, which gives an account of Lord Arlington's death.

† The evidence of this is in the Clarendon papers.

ther with Ostend and Minorca to England; that from the conquests to be made in the Seven Provinces a settlement should be provided for the young Prince of Orange; and the islands of Walkeron and Cassante, with L'Ecluse reserved to England: He proposed too, that war should, at the same time, be declared against Hamburgh, from a false idea, that if Holland and Hamburgh were subdued, England would be enriched by the trade of the world, as if it was possible for a trading nation to be rich, when all others were poor. Lord Arundel of Wardour, a Roman catholic, was dispatched to Paris to pave the way for the project. Monsieur Colbert was sent from Paris to London to receive it: Sir Richard Bealling, a Roman catholic, threw it into the draft of a treaty; and Sir Thomas Clifford of the same religion, together with Lord Arundel, Lord Arlington, and Bealling, were named commissioners by the King to conclude the affair with Colbert. Louis refused to engage in a war against Hamburgh, but agreed to give two millions of livres, for the King's declaring himself a Roman catholic, and a yearly subsidy of three millions of livres during the Dutch war. He agreed also to the other articles of Bealling's draft, but with an intention to prevail afterwards upon Charles to reverse the order of the project, and begin with the attack upon Holland: To compass this end, he delayed putting a final hand to the treaty, until he had sent the Duchess to Dover, under pretence of a visit to her brother, and lingered himself upon the opposite coasts of France while the interview lasted.

It was intended, that the King and the Duke should have gone to Dover together; but, by an accident, Charles went alone: For, all the conventicles were to be shut up in London, upon the ensuing Sunday, and the Duke was left behind to guard the city against riots, which

*discovered
with lady
p. 35*

REVIEW OF EVENTS

were dreaded upon that occasion. And, before he went down to Dover, the Duchefs had obtained from her brother an assurance to the court of France, that notwithstanding what had been agreed upon, the Dutch war should preceed his declaring himself catholic. When the Duke arrived, he pressed his brother, but in vain, to recall the promise, and to adhere strictly to the original plan, by settling the interests of religion, and the establishment of his own power at home, before he engaged himself in the difficulties of a war, which would make him dependent upon parliament. The treaty was signed at Dover by Colbert and the four English commissioners, ^{22 May} ^{1 June} 1670, and soon after ratified by the signature, and private letters, and private seals of the two sovereigns.

But though the particulars of this important treaty were never known, till the author of these memoirs had the good fortune to find them at Versailles, the interview of Charles with the Duchefs of Orleans spread the alarm from England to Holland, and from both to the rest of Europe. Even the ominous death of the Duchefs of Orleans, which succeeded this new friendship, struck the imaginations of a people who, in those days, connected all events with religion; and the return of a French mistress to Charles, who had been sent by the French court with the Duchefs to Dover, confirmed the same serious impression: "Fatal," it was said, "must be those
 " councils which had been sealed by the King's adultery.
 " which were reported to have been followed by poison-
 " ing, and in which the destruction of an illustrious pro-
 " testant republic had been concerted amidst feasts and
 " revels. Heaven disapproved the project, by striking
 " down its first conductress, before she could see the suc-
 " cess of her snares. But the survivor was more dan-
 " gerous, who would keep her lover enthralled for ever

" to

“ to the enchantments of a people who were the natural enemies of his own.”

Galled with the late oppositions in parliament to his ministers and measures, Charles, in order to divide the popular party, had, some time before this, withdrawn his confidence from his ministers of the old royal party, and pretended to give it to a new ministry, commonly called the cabal, which he had formed of popular men. Southampton was dead. Clarendon had fallen a victim to the revenge of the Duchess of Cleveland, the intrigues of rivals, the resentment of parliament, and his own imprudences. Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, Secretary Trevor, Sir William Coventry, were no longer called to councils. All power in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was committed to six men, Lord Clifford, Lord Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley Cooper afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Lauderdale, and Lord Robarts; the three last of whom had drawn their swords against the King's father. Clifford had raised himself by his great influence in the house of Commons: Ashley Cooper had still greater in the house of Lords: Arlington, notwithstanding his secret inclinations to popery, had maintained connections with the dissenters: Buckingham favouring all sects, because he was of no religion himself, was a favourite of the dissenters: Lauderdale had great interest with the presbyterians in Scotland: And Shaftesbury and Buckingham were supported by the people, because they pretended a reverence for their rights. This ministry was the most extraordinary that ever was composed: For the King had an unconquerable distrust of Shaftesbury: Though diverted with the humours of Buckingham, he was shocked with an advice which that Duke had given him to procure a parliamentary divorce from the Queen, and had once committed him to the

Tower for personal offences against himself: Arlington and Buckingham were mortal foes: And Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lauderdale, were averse from the influence of the Duke of York with his brother, because they thought it interfered with their own: or, at least, the Duke believed that they were so. But, at the interview at Dover, the Dukes of Orleans reconciled Arlington and Buckingham, and the King to Buckingham.

Charles
dupes his
protestant
counsellors
in the
secret
treaty.

The treaty of Dover was no sooner signed than Colbert pressed Charles to make preparations for the Dutch war. Charles, without refusing, delayed it, sometimes under the excuse, either real or pretended, that he intended, by enforcing the laws against dissenters, to drive them to extremities, and waited for an opportunity of raising an army under the pretence of distressing them; and at other times pleading the duties of conscience, which obliged him to postpone his temporal to his spiritual interest. But his hesitation, in reality, arose from anxiety to touch the two millions stipulated for his conversion. and the consciousness that in the dangerous engagements which he had taken, he was supported only by a few of his popish, but none of his protestant counsellors.

From this last uneasiness, however, he was speedily relieved by the officious restless spirit of Buckingham. Upon the death of the Dukes of Orleans, Buckingham formed a project of being sent upon an embassy of condolence to France, and of endeavouring when there to bring about an alliance between the French and English courts against Holland. Colbert, to whom he made the proposal, communicated it to Charles, who desired him to give it encouragement. Buckingham then opened his views to Lauderdale and Ashley Cooper. The first entered into them. The last desired time to consider.

This accident gave an opportunity for Charles to carry on an intrigue, perfectly suited to his genius, for laying
upon

upon his protestant ministers the burden of part of the treaty, which, unknown to them, had just been concluded by his popish ones. He sent the Duke of Buckingham on the embassy of condolence solicited by him. He entreated Louis to flatter the vanity of the new ambassador, by the honour of forming an alliance, the merit of which would be all his own, and his ambition, by holding out to him the prospect of commanding the English forces to be employed against the Dutch. And by these arts he intended, that Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale should be made parties to a treaty, which should be so conducted, as to be a repetition of the former secret one in all things, except in the article relative to his declaring himself Roman Catholic.

Buckingham fell into the snare; was easily gained in France to whatever was asked of him; boasted to his own court, that he could draw the French one into an alliance with it; was thanked by the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Arlington, all of whom ordered him to proceed. He then desired to be recalled, that he might bring the other ministers into his views. His desire was complied with, in order that he might, as the King expressed it to him, "finish what he had so gloriously begun." He succeeded with Lord Ashley Cooper, and the King with the Duke of Lauderdale. These two ministers, with Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and the Duke of York were appointed commissioners to conduct the treaty with Monsieur Colbert. But to cover the part which Arlington was acting, as well as to inflame the impatience of Buckingham by opposition, Arlington and Colbert pretended to throw difficulties in the way of the treaty; and Buckingham was so miserably the dupe of his own project, as to write letters to Louis the XIV. complaining of them, and insinuating that Arlington was in the pay of the enemies of France.

Charles

REVIEW OF EVENTS

Charles, in the mean time, gave the line of the treaty to his commissioners, which was so framed as to correspond with the former one in all things; except, that in order to comply with the demands of the new commissioners, Louis gave Charles a million of livres in hand, and added the islands of Worne and Goree to the share which England was to have had in the division of Holland; and to blind them, the article relative to the King's religion was omitted, and the two millions contained in it were thrown into an additional subsidy for the first year of the Dutch war. But after all things were agreed upon, Louis insisted to have a private declaration from Charles; that these two millions were in reality the price of his change of religion, and a private confirmation of the treaty of Dover in all things. Charles saw the advantage which these new demands gave Louis over him, and reluctantly submitted. The treaty was signed by Charles on the 2d of February, and by the new commissioners on the 3d of June 1671: And in a month afterwards, Colbert sent to his master the separate private declaration and confirmation signed by Charles, and those who had been his commissioners to the former treaty. Both treaties were helped on by French money, given both to the old and new commissioners; and Charles was so profligate, as not to pretend ignorance of this circumstance. But Arlington behaved worse; for, pretending delicacy, he refused the present intended for him, but permitted it to be taken by his wife.

Prince of
Orange's
first visit
to Eng-
land.

In the midst of negotiations which Charles was carrying on for the destruction of Holland, under the pretence, and perhaps in the belief of raising his nephew upon its ruins, the young Prince of Orange arrived in England to pay his first visit to his uncle. Charles proposed that the secret of the last treaty should be communicated to him; but Louis from prudence refused his consent.

Charles

Charles proposed to detain his person in England, but Loius from honour refused his consent. At that time, these Princes little thought, that the youth whose interests and person they were thus disposing of, would in future days ruin the family of the one, and stop, in its fullest career, the ambition of the other. Britons, who reflect that they owe their present religion and liberty to the Prince of Orange, will read with pleasure the following character, which Colbert wrote his master that Charles gave of him at the visit: "The King of England" is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. "But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of his trusting him with any part of the secret, these two reasons would have hindered him." It is not impossible that some discoveries made by the Prince of Orange, at this visit, of his uncle's sentiments, were the causes of that distrust which he retained of him ever after.

While Charles was duping his protestant ministers, to conceal from them the obligations he was under to change his religion, the shifts which he fell upon to get excuses to the court of France for not performing them, represent a true comedy in Colbert's dispatches at Versailles. From those dispatches, the writer of these memoirs made the following notes.

"After Charles had signed the first treaty, several months pass over upon a difficulty on his part in finding a proper person to send to Rome to manage his reconciliation with the Holy See. At length on the 29th September, 1670, Colbert writes Monsieur de Lyonne, that according to orders from France he had proposed to Charles that the affair should be conducted by the Bishop of Laon, a man of great virtue and character, and that Charles had agreed,

The King's shifts to avoid declaring himself popish.

"On

REVIEW OF EVENTS

“ On the 23d October, 1670, Colbert writes Monsieur de Lyonne, that Charles had changed his mind, and did not like “ a confier son secret a un Pape moribond; — to trust his secret to a Pope who was near his end;” and besides that it would be proper he should send an Englishman with the Bishop of Laon.

“ On the 6th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that King Charles could not yet find a proper Englishman to go to Rome with the Bishop of Laon.

“ On the 13th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he had proposed to Lord Arlington, that the Bishop of Laon should set off by himself, and Lord Arlington said he would speak to the King of it.

“ On the 17th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that Charles had at last found a proper Englishman, but who was not in England, being head of the college at Down, and that he would send him by himself without the Bishop of Laon; that Charles had promised to declare his popery soon, but would not fix his time, and that in the mean time he had made a demand for money from France.

“ On the 1st and 19th of January, 1671, Colbert writes, that there were delays about the English clergyman and the form of his instructions, and that Charles was to trust the whole affair to one of his own subjects.

“ On the 18th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that still more delays were made on account of the want of proper instructions to the King’s English clergyman.

“ On the 25th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that the instructions to the clergyman having at length been finished, and Lord Arlington carried them to the King, he gave for answer, that he could neither declare his popery, nor send any one to Rome at this time.

“ On the 21st March, 1672, Colbert writes, that
Charles

“ Charles desired a theologian to be sent him from Paris,
 “ to instruct him in the mysteries of the catholic religion,
 “ but that he desired this theologian might be a good
 “ chemist.

“ On the 7th June, 1672, Colbert writes that Charles
 “ had put off his conversion till the end of the campaign ;
 “ and that in the mean time he desired a treaty with the
 “ see of Rome, in which the Pope should yield, ‘ le
 “ communion dans les deux especes,’ and that mass
 “ should be said in the vulgar tongue.”

Chemistry being the study which, of all others, the King was fondest of, and a demand of concessions which it was impossible for Rome to make betraying itself, these two last demands probably opened the eyes of the French, and they troubled him no more on the head of religion.

Charles used the same arts to gain money from Spain. For, from several of Colbert's dispatches at Versailles, it appears, that when Colbert reproached him, for having, unknown to the court of France, sent a clergyman to inform the Queen of Spain of his intention to change his religion, he excused himself by saying, that he had done it to engage her, by the common ties of religion, to take a side against the Dutch.

The ambassador sent to Spain to endeavour to bring about this junction against Holland, was the Earl of Sunderland, then a youth, afterwards so famous for his infirmation and intrigues. Those who are fond of tracing the characters of great figures from their earliest appearances in life, will be amused to see the following character of Lord Sunderland as drawn by Colbert in one of his dispatches. “ They assured me that the Earl of Sunderland should without fail depart to-morrow to wait upon your majesty. He is a young gentlemen of high family, has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning, is also extremely well intentioned, (that

Sunderland's character.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

"is to France,) and has besides a great disposition to "make himself a Roman catholic." The last stroke of this character is remarkable. Sunderland was not intrusted with the secret of the King's intentions in favour of popery, yet to pay his court ran before them, just as in the next reign he went along with those of James, with the same view to his own interest.

High tone
of Charles
and his
brother,
after the
French
treaties,
to protestant
counselors.

Charles had no sooner drawn his protestant ministers upon the unpopular ground of a secret money treaty with France, for the destruction of a protestant republic, than he assumed over them, all that superiority which the advantage of it gave him. He duped Buckingham of the command of the English land forces to be employed against Holland, by prevailing on Louis not to ask them. And when Buckingham on this account retired from court in disgust, he ordered him to return, and rated him roundly. One of the expressions which fell upon this occasion from the mouth of the best bred man in Europe, was, "That when great interests were at stake, "he considered Buckingham no more than his dog." As the transition of passion to objects connected with the object of it is easy, Charles turning to Lauderdale and Ashley Cooper, who happened to be present, treated them in a strain not much better; and concluded with ordering all the three to promote the ends of the treaty they had signed; with threats of making them feel his displeasure if they did not.

The Duke of York also intoxicated with the success of the treaties, first betrayed that contempt of parliaments, that attachment to France, and that blind zeal for his religion, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. Colbert, in one of his dispatches at Versailles represents the Duke of York's sentiments upon a dispute in his brother's councils, whether a parliament should be assembled, in these words: "I found the Duke of York in the same
"sentiments

“ sentiments with the Duke of Buckingham, with re-
 “ gard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me
 “ of himself, without my entering upon the subject,
 “ that if his advice was followed, they would be very
 “ cautious of assembling it; adding in confidence, that
 “ affairs are at present here in such a situation, as to
 “ make him believe, that a King and a parliament can
 “ exist no longer together: That nothing should be any
 “ longer thought of, than to make war upon Holland,
 “ as the only means left without having recourse to
 “ parliament, to which they ought no longer to have
 “ recourse, till the war and the catholic faith had come
 “ to an happy issue; and then they should be in condi-
 “ tion to obtain by force what they could not obtain by
 “ mildness.”

A Prince whose politics are crooked, makes those of
 his ministers crooked also. The cabal, to lessen their
 danger, by giving others a share of it, proposed to the
 French court, that an attempt should be made to engage
 Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormond, to consent to
 a treaty with France, upon the plan of that lately con-
 cluded. But the French tired of finesses in which they
 had no interest, refused their consent.

Desperate because few, the cabal came then strongly to
 see, that their only safety lay in strengthening that royal
 authority, which alone could protect them from the peo-
 ple; and engaged their master in the boldest courses to
 link his interest with their own. They made the King
 break faith with his people, by obtaining a great sum
 from parliament to support Holland against France, al-
 though he was under secret engagements with France to
 destroy her. When he wanted more money to enable him
 to fulfil these engagements, Shaftesbury suggested the
 scheme of seizing the issues of the exchequer, instead
 of applying to parliament; a measure which disco-
 vered

Bold
 courses of
 the cabal.

vered a contempt of the laws, a design to reign independent of parliaments, and a consciousness, that the war he was undertaking was disagreeable to his people. He asserted a suspending and dispensing power in the crown, in his second declaration of indulgence, by the advice of Buckingham and Shaftesbury, who hoped to gain the dissenters by that indulgence. In vain he declared that his declaration was only a political measure, intended to end divisions among his protestant subjects, and to draw the Dutch traders from Holland, by a toleration of religion similar to that in their own country. The declaration irritated the church, because it shewed favour to the dissenters; the dissenters, because they supposed it was meant to favour only the Roman Catholics; and the friends to liberty and the constitution, who exclaimed, "That it struck at all the laws, for which the
 " people of England had been struggling during 1100
 " years: For that if the Sovereign could, without con-
 " sent of parliament dispense with one law, he could
 " dispense with all." Many other instances of the suspending and dispensing powers followed *. The French King privately promised Charles that, as soon as the war was at an end, he would send 6000 troops from France to assist him in maintaining his authority at home. The Duke of York laid aside ceremony, and avowed his communion with the church of Rome. The subject trembled when he saw a standing army raised and maintained without consent of parliament; and recollected that the only time the liberties of England were destroyed, was, by a standing army, under the direction of Cromwell. Day after day, the English thought they saw their liberties and religion fading from their sight. Louis XIV. completed their terrors, when his minister at the imperial court

* They are to be found in Ralph, vol. i. p. 213, &c. and 229.

court declared, that his master's resolution to extirpate the Dutch was taken on account of their heresy.

In the mean time the Dutch, attacked by the troops of Cologn, of France, of England, by the navies of the two last of these powers, and deserted by Sweden, which even stipulated to fall upon the empire, if any of her members should advance to defend Holland, were taught how weak is industry when arms are refused, and that wealth may well tempt, but cannot repel an invader. Upon the virtue of a youth of twenty-two years turned the fate of four millions of freemen. Charles offered him the sovereignty of a part of his country, if he would quit its defence; but with a just elevation of spirit, he refused the offer. When told he should live to see his country undone, he answered, with Spartan brevity, "No, I shall die in the last ditch." The spirit of his countrymen kept pace with his; they prepared, if all other resources should fail them, to transport two hundred thousand of their number, with their effects and their liberty, to a quarter of the globe the furthest from the seats of their former freedom. The virtue of the Prince caught the affections of the English; the sufferings of the Dutch their commiseration; the inequality in the strength of the parties at war, provoked their generosity: and an alliance with France roused ancient, and inflamed present antipathies. One of the most remarkable spectacles that is to be found in the history of mankind, was at this time presented: Two of the bravest of nations aiming their daggers at each other's breasts; yet lamenting the wounds which they mutually gave. When the Dutch deputies were sent to beg peace from Charles, the people of England followed their coaches with tears, and the court was obliged to remove them to Hampton-court from the eyes of the public: A device which only increased the public pity. When the English ambassadors passed through

Spirit of
the Dutch
and the
Prince of
Orange.

Gains the
English.

Holland

Holland in their way to the French King, the Dutch received them with cries of "God save the English, and "the Prince of Orange." Hence mutual ties between the nations, hence mutual aversion to those princes who endeavoured to keep them asunder. Even the valour of the Duke in naval engagements, which, in the former war, the English had honoured, they now covered with obloquy.

Spirit of
the parli-
ament, in
the year
1672.

To that session of parliament, which met in the year 1673, immediately after these events, every Briton who now lives, doth perhaps owe the whole liberty he enjoys. Charles opened the session by informing his parliament in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his resolution of maintaining his grant of indulgence, and that, instead of diminishing, he intended to increase his army: A declaration which discovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to make his will effectual by an army, to whose establishment parliament had not consented. But the house of commons with English magnanimity remonstrated in an address, that the dispensing power which he claimed, belonged not to his crown; and, when Charles gave an ambiguous answer, they insisted in a second address for one more explicit. In another they pressed him to dismiss the popish officers of his army; and in a fourth, to disband his army itself, as soon as the peace should be concluded. They prepared to attack his ministers. These ministers quarrelled among themselves: For Lord Arlington contrived the famous test act against popery, knowing well that Lord Clifford would not take the test required by it; which struck the staff of Lord High Treasurer from the hand of Lord Clifford, and that of Lord High Admiral from the hand of the King's brother. Lewis the XIV. whose only view was the prosecution of the Dutch war, which he saw would be distracted by
the

the quarrels of Charles with his subjects, pressed him to recal his declaration of indulgence. Charles took advantage of this ; in spite of the remonstrances of his brother, of Clifford, of Lauderdale, of Buckingham, and of Shaftesbury, declined a conflict with his parliament, relinquished his pretensions to a dispensing power, breaking with his own hands the seal affixed to the declaration of indulgence, in which it had been asserted, declared his own inclinations to give satisfaction to his people, and exposed his new ministers to their vengeance.

But to escape that vengeance, the cabal made the same sudden turn with their master. For, a master who betrays, and consents to the corrupting of his own servants, must expect to be betrayed by them. Shaftesbury saying aloud, " That the Prince, who forsook himself, deserved " to be forsaken," put himself at the head of the opposition to the court, and urged the recall of all those unconstitutional measures which himself had advised. His resolution was taken in one night. In the evening Lord Clifford read to him a speech which he intended to make next day in parliament, in favour of the King's measures; Shaftesbury, in order to fix it the better in his own memory, desired to hear it a second time ; and next day in a studied answer, confuted it argument by argument. Whilst he was speaking, the Duke of York whispered to his brother : " What a rogue have you of a chancellor !" Charles, with his usual quickness of repartee, answered : " What a fool have you of a treasurer !" Buckingham prepared to follow the example of Shaftesbury. Arlington, who had been disobliged, when Clifford, by the influence of the Duke, was appointed treasurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman *, paid court privately to the prince of Orange and the Dutch, and joined the popular

Cabal
broken.

* Coleman's Letters, and Temple's Memoirs, 404.

popular party in parliament. To make his peace, and gain protectors, he disclosed the secret of the treaty of Dover to the Duke of Ormond and Lord Shaftesbury, under a promise of secrecy from them, and laid the blame on his associates. To the honour of loyalty, Ormond carried with him his loyalty and his secret to the grave. By a strange mixture of dishonour and honour in party, Shaftesbury at an after period prosecuted Lord Arundel for a plot which he knew to be fictitious, and yet never made use of Arlington's secret against him. The furious Clifford indignantly retired to the country. Lauderdale alone, with the impetuosity of his country's spirit, and his own, urged Charles, but in vain, to march the Scottish army into England; and when he could not prevail, joined in the national complaints against the Duke, hoping by that means to keep them off himself. Soon after, the King, pressed by his parliament, made a separate peace with the Dutch. And thus the famous cabal, and all their schemes, burst like a bubble, almost at the first sight of the terrors of an English parliament hung out to them.

Lord
Danby's
ministry.

Upon the downfall of the cabal, Sir Thomas Osburn created Earl of Danby, rose by the greatness of his abilities from the station of a private gentleman to be prime minister. A man, the history of whose life, marked all along by sudden honours and sudden disgraces, would cure the human mind of ambition, if ambition in a free country was not a duty and virtue. A tory and high-church man by principle, an enemy to France *, because much an Englishman, he set out in his ministry with two views: One was to reconcile the King and the old tory party, the other to detach him from France. Charles entered into the first of these views, but soon made him sensible that he would be obliged to give up the other.

When

* Vide almost all his own printed letters.

When Charles deserted France in the Dutch war by his separate peace, in the end of the year 1673, he excused himself to the French court by laying the blame on his parliament and his people. But to make amends, he offered his mediation for a peace between them and the Dutch *. Louis XIV. asked a more substantial favour. The English parliament was to meet in November, 1674: He was afraid that if it met then, Charles might be forced into a war with him, and that the supplies and forces might be ready in the ensuing spring. The Duke of York suggested to Louis to offer his brother money to prorogue the parliament. Louis followed the advice, and, in consideration of five hundred thousand crowns, Charles prorogued his parliament till April, 1675 †.

But the same danger presenting itself to France in the winter of the year 1675, the same remedy was applied: And Charles, in January, 1676, entered into a secret treaty with France, whereby, in consideration of a large pension, he obliged himself to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, if it should endeavour to force him into any treaty against France; and both princes bound themselves to enter into no treaty without consent of the other. The Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and Lord Danby were the only persons privy to this treaty. The two first promoted it. The last threw difficulties in the way, and even refused to sign it; and the Duke of Lauderdale, rendered cautious by the example, declined to sign also. Charles was so conscious of the unpopularity, which these secret transactions, if known, would bring upon him, that he would not trust the writing of the treaty to another, but wrote it with his own hand ‡.

VOL. I.

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The

* Vid. Sir William Temple's memoirs, from the year 1670, to 1679, p. 378.

† Vid. appendix to this chapter.

‡ Do.

Secret money-bargain with France in the year 1674.

Secret money treaty with France in the year 1676.

Secret
money
treaty
with
France in
the year
1677.

The bargain in the winter of the year 1674, and the treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, saved France from an English parliament, and from English armaments, in the campaigns of the years 1675 and 1676. But in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament, and of the nation, having increased for the King's joining the Dutch and Spaniards, in the war against France, Louis redoubled his attentions to Charles: He supplied him with money to distribute in parliament; he offered him forces to make him master of his subjects; and, by another secret treaty, he gave him two millions of livres, not to convene his parliament until the middle of May *.

Charles's
double
dealing.

But while Charles was in this manner secretly selling Hoiland and Spain to Louis the XIV. he was continually duping all the three. At the very time when he was settling the terms of the separate peace with the Dutch, in the autumn of the year 1673, he asked a million of livres extraordinary from France, for the prosecution of the war †. He rendered his mediation in the negotiations for peace useless, by refusing to be umpire between the belligerent powers; although all parties pressed him to it, and the Prince of Orange acknowledged that the terms of peace were at his command, if he would prescribe them ‡. The war continued four years. In the mean time, he, on the one hand, left 6000 British troops in the French service, which were employed against the allies; and, on the other, permitted the Dutch to levy troops in Britain, which were employed against France §. He used his office of mediator, to inform the French

* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† Do.

‡ Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, p. 418, 428, 434. and his letters.

§ Ibid. p. 377, and Gazette, April 9th, 1678.

French of the secrets of the Dutch *, and the Dutch of the secrets of the French †. The unfortunate events of the campaign of the year 1676, had no sooner made the Dutch, and even the Prince of Orange, anxious for a peace, than he privately asked a confidence from Louis the XIV. of the terms on which he would make it ‡. And by the use which he made of that confidence contrived to prevent a peace between two nations eager to obtain it. And when the negotiations for peace were drawing to a conclusion, there is great probability, that while he was seeking more money from France §, he was getting money also from Holland and Spain ||.

By success in over-reaching, Charles became even profligate in it. For after he had concluded his treaty in the year 1677, for selling his neutrality to France for two millions, he pretended he had made a mistake in calculating two millions of livres at L. 200,000, and insisted for this last sum. Barillon, in one of his dispatches at Versailles, relates, that when he began to reproach the King for the artifice, the King interrupting him said: “ In the name of God, do not speak to me of this affair: “ I am so confused about it, that I cannot bear it to be “ spoken of. Go to the treasurer, and do as you and he “ shall understand the matter: As to myself I am driven “ to despair whenever it is mentioned to me.” While he spoke these words, pressing Barillon gradually to the door, he opened it himself; and, in a pretended shame and confusion, appearing not to know what he was doing,

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* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† Vid. Sir W. Temple's and Lord Danby's letters.

‡ Vid. appendix to this chapter.

§ Vid. Lord Danby's letters.

|| It is probable that he received money from Holland and Spain, from two letters of Sir W. Temple, dated Jan. 17th and 24th, 1676.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

ing, shut him out. The best of comedians could not have acted the scene better.

However unpenetrably the secret connections of Charles and his brother with Louis the XIV. were endeavoured to be kept, the Prince of Orange, by the infidelity of Rouvigny's secretary, came to be acquainted with them a little before the revolution; yet he generously never discovered them against his uncle to the world*.

Reflection

If we can imagine that Charles, in the treaty of Dover threw out the lure of popery only in order to relieve his necessities at the expence of France; and made provision for foreign help, only to make use of it in self-defence, if he was unjustly attacked by his subjects; that he entered into the war with an intention to weaken Holland, to get justice done to his nephew the Prince of Orange †, and to withdraw from it ‡, when he saw France

* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† The secret treaty of the year 1670 shews, that Charles attended to the interests of the Prince of Orange in the war that was projected. It appears from a passage in Lord North's memoirs, to be found in North's Examen, p. 484. and 485, that, in entering into the second Dutch war, Charles had a view to the interest of his nephew. The authority is high, not only on account of the integrity of Lord North, and of his elevated situation, which gave him access to know things better than others, but because his memoirs were never intended for publication. It is certain, that the massacre of the De Wits, and the elevation of the Prince of Orange, was owing to a belief entertained by the Dutch, that the injuries done to the honours of the Prince of Orange were the causes of Charles's resentment.

‡ There is a very remarkable paper in Sir William Temple's works, Vol. I. p. 83. which makes it not improbable, that Charles entered into the second Dutch war, with an intention to engage France and Holland, and then to withdraw England. It is a memorial presented in the year 1671 to the Lord Keeper Coventry. In this memorial, Sir William Temple examines three questions. 1st, Whether England should continue in inaction, and allow Holland to increase in her commerce and maritime power?

France and Holland fairly engaged, in order that England might in the mean time run away with the trade of the world; that he withdrew as soon as these objects were attained; that he exposed his enemies, whom he had created his ministers, to the odium of an unpopular war, and of the unpopular measures which accompanied it; and afterwards complied with the voice of his people against that war and those measures, to expose those ministers, to save himself, and to get an excuse to France for

power? 2dly, Whether she should engage France and Holland in a war, and keep herself free? And lastly, Whether she should join with France to destroy Holland? He is equally against the first and the last project; but seems to favour the second, if it could be effectuated.

It may appear from the rest of Sir William Temple's works, that he was much an enemy to the second Dutch war. But the passions of men frequently confound an object with the circumstances which accompany it. Sir William Temple, like all lovers of their country, was provoked at the measures of the cabal in the first years of that war. Men also judge often of actions by their events. Sir William Temple might, in the year 1671, think it right to engage France and Holland in a war, and yet, in the year 1678, be discontented with the liberty which had been given to France, in the course of it, to aggrandize herself too much by land.

A very superficial critic in history may see from both parts of Sir William Temple's memoirs, that he was not let into many of the secrets of his master. In the course of his Dutch negotiation, Lord Arlington, Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and De Cros, were sent over at different times with powers which were concealed from him. Charles II. was the deepest dissembler that ever sat on the English throne. He had been ill used in his youth abroad, and, in his age, by many of his subjects at home. These things had given him a distrust of all human kind; and he was the more irresistible, because, by the natural ease of his manners, he gained the confidence of every one. The Duchess of Portsmouth was the only person in his kingdom in whom he confided, and even her he sometimes duped, in order to dupe others. This makes an account of his reign the most difficult in the English history.

for retracting from the terms of his treaties; that he prolonged and obstructed the negotiations of peace *, only with an intention that England might in the mean time secure the exclusive commerce she had gained; that he gave troops to both the powers at war, in order to prevent the English from losing the martial spirit, while their country was enjoying all the blessings of peace; and that, when he could get the flames of war continued no longer, he took money from both sides, because he considered both as his enemies; his conduct would present one of the deepest trains of policy that is any where to be found.

Effects of
them.

But, if these were the intentions of Charles, like most schemes of deep policy, they turned against himself. Those ministers whom he meant to expose, threw the odium off themselves upon him. The Prince of Orange rejected the services offered. Charles could not assume the honour of a policy which irritated Holland and France against each other, without disappointing it. He durst not

* The Prince of Orange scrupled not to tell Sir William Temple, that the prolongation of the war was owing to Charles. Temple's memoirs, p. 434. The words used by the Prince were, "That the King had the peace in his hands for these two years past, might have made it when he pleased, and upon such conditions as he should think fit, of justice and safety to the rest of his neighbours, as well as himself. That all men knew France was not in a condition to refuse whatever terms his Majesty resolved on, or to venture a war with England in conjunction with the rest of the allies: That the least shew of it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the peace: That they had long represented all this in England by Monsr. Van Beuninghen, and offered his Majesty to be the arbiter of it, and to fall into the terms he should prescribe; but not one word in answer; and all this received with such a coldness as never was, though other people thought we had reason to be a little more concerned: That this put him more upon thinking a separate peace (that is from the rest of his allies) necessary, than all the rest."

not avow the secret permission he gave to levy troops, without alarming the jealousy of the nation, that he intended one day to recal them to be used against his people; nor confess his duping Spain, Holland, and France, by receiving money from all of them, without drawing personal shame upon himself, in return for political reputation. And all parties in England concurred in condemning the second Dutch war: the tories, because their party thought they were removed from power to make way for it; and the whigs, because Charles made the heads of their party the instruments of it at first, and intended, in the end, to sacrifice them to it.

On the other hand, if we suppose that Charles II. was serious in intending to bury the protestant religion, the liberties of England, and the Dutch commonwealth, in one grave, he may be considered as the most criminal of all English Princes. And, if we impute his indecisive and desultory measures, after he withdrew from the war, either to levity, or to the influence of the sums he received from foreigners, his conduct will appear in a very mean light. But, if his motives were really as criminal and mean as they are generally supposed to have been, the consequences of them afford one of the many instances in English history, in which good has arisen to the English nation from intended evil: For, from the æra of that war, is to be dated that superiority in commerce and naval power which England then established upon the sufferings of the French and Dutch commerce, and that suspicion of Charles and his brother, which the nation at that time formed, and which rendered ineffectual all the future attempts of either against the liberties of their subjects.

Although Charles had, towards the end of the second Dutch war, recalled his unpopular measures, the sense of past danger remained with his people. The five subsequent

Differences between the King and

the parlia-
ment for
five years.

sequent years were therefore spent in a continual state of contention between the house of commons and their sovereign. The commons addressed him twice against the marriage of the Duke with the Princess of Modena, although it was already celebrated by proxy; and although, a few years before, when the fears of popery were not so great, they had with indifference seen a treaty carried on for his marriage with another popish princess. They drew up votes and addresses against standing armies, against national grievances, against the King's ministers. Their complaints were repeatedly directed against Lauderdale. They examined Buckingham and Arlington at their bar, taking advantage of the antient hatred of these Lords against each other; and this hatred broke out in mutual accusations. They prepared to impeach Danby. Every art of a popular assembly was employed to keep alive the cry of popery in the people. And supplies were refused almost as often as they were asked. The King, on the other hand, by a prorogation, disappointed a *habeas corpus* bill, the great palladium of English liberty. By advice of Lord Danby, he endeavoured to extinguish the sentiment of opposition to his power, by setting on foot a bill in the house of Lords, for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the members of both houses, and on all in public station. But that house of Lords which, in the first tide of the King's popularity, had, even without a division, imposed the same oath upon churchmen, and the office-bearers of boroughs, took seventeen days to debate on the extension of it: an interval during which the nation believed that the fate of their own liberties, and of those of their posterity, were all the while in dependence. After the bill was carried through the house of Lords, Charles found he could not venture it in the house of commons. When the commons pressed him

to engage in a war with France, he desired them, first to advance the money necessary for carrying it on. And, when he mentioned the sum, an English house of commons, and an English monarch, haggled with each other, like two tradesmen in a bargain. Day after day, men's jealousies of Charles, and their hatred of the Duke, who was reputed to be severe, grew greater and greater; and both of these princes expected the exclusion, or something like it, long before it was heard in parliament.

A P P E N D I X

T O

CHAPTER II. OF THE REVIEW.

Nº I.

Letters from Charles II. to the Duchess of Orleans; from Monsieur Rouvigny and Monsieur Colbert to the French court; and between Louis XIV. and Charles II. concerning the first secret money-treaty with France, concluded in the year 1670, by the popish ministers of King Charles, for his declaring himself a Roman Catholic, and the destruction of Holland; together with a draught of the treaty.

IN the *Depot des affaires etrangeres* at Versailles, I found some letters of Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orleans, which mark his personal antipathy to the Dutch. One of them, which could hardly have been expected from a royal hand, follows.

Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orlean. — Indecent to the Dutch.

Whithall, 27 Feb. 1669.

I AM sorry that my Lord Hollis has asked justice upon a point of honour that I should never have thought of: you know the old saying in England, the more a T. is stir'd the more it stinkes; and I do not care a T— for any thing

thing a Dutch man sayes of me, and so I thinke you have enough upon this d rty subject, which nothing but a stinking Dutchman could have been the cause of: But pray thanke the King my brother and desire him not to take any kinde of notice of it, for such idle discources are not worth his anger or myne.

A paper at Versailles, entitled, “Memoire présenté au Roy par Monf. de Rouvigny, au retour d’Angleterre,” of which a copy shall be immediately subjoined, shows, that before the triple alliance, Charles had made several attempts to a league with France; and other French papers to be printed in a different part of this appendix, will show the same thing.

Upon entering into the triple alliance, Charles wrote the following apologies to his sister and Louis the XIV.

Charles the II. to the Duchesse of Orleans.—Makes an apology for the triple alliance.

Whithall, 23 Jan. 1668.

I Beleeve you will be a little surpris'd at the treaty I have concluded with the States, the effect of it is to bring Spain to consent to the peace upon the terms the King of France hath avoued he will be content with: So as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide for myself against any mischises this warre may produce, and finding my propositions to France receive so cold an answer which in effect was as good as a refusal, I thought I had no other way but this to secure my selfe. If I finde by the letters that my Ld. St. Albans is come away, I do intend to send somebody else into France to incline the King to accept of this peace.

In the Depot at Versailles.

Translation of a Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIV. dated the 3d February, 1668.—To the same purpose.

SIR, My Brother,

THE present posture of affairs not permitting me to deliberate a long time what part to take, I have chosen that which I thought most conformable to what I owe to the repose of Christendom, and have joined the States General of the United Provinces to bring about a peace between you and the Catholick King my brother, in which I believe I have not done a disagreeable thing to you, as we have agreed to propose the said peace upon the conditions that you have often expressed yourself willing to accept, and more expressly in your last letter of the 27th past, in which (after having been so good as to communicate to me your intended march into the Franche Comté) you declare, that whatever the success may be, you still were willing to accept the beforementioned conditions; thus sacrificing your private interests to the public good. A most generous sentiment and worthy of you. I have ordered the Chevalier Trevor, a gentleman of my bed-chamber, whom I have sent to France in quality of my envoy extraordinary, to explain matters to you more at large, and the desire I have to execute the treaty I have made, with every possible regard for your satisfaction; to whom, if you please, you will give entire confidence, and more particularly when he assures you of the inviolable friendship which on all occasions I wish to preserve as, &c.

Charles the Second to the Duchess of Orleans.—Sir John Trevor sent to Paris about the triple alliance.—The King's kindness for his sister.

Whithall, 4 Feb. 1668.

I Have dispatched this bearer Sir John Trevor into france as my envoyé extraordinary with power to negotiate the

the peace between the two crownes according to the treaty I lately made with the states of the united provinces, I have given him orders to communicate all things with that freedome to you as I ought to do haveing that kindnesse for you which I cannot in words sufficiently expresse, I hope he will not finde his worke difficulte, since I presse nothing but the conditions of peace which the King of france offred to agree with Spain upon, Monfr. de S. Laurens will part from hence in two or three dayes, by him I will write more to you, and so I am intierly yours.—*In the Depot.*

The triple alliance against France was signed on the 23d Jan. 1668. and on the 24th day thereafter, the Duchess of Orleans and the Duke of Buckingham entered into an intrigue for a secret treaty with France. On this head there is the following letter to her in the Duke's hand-writing at Versailles.

Translation of a Letter of the Duke of Buckingham to the Duchess of Orleans.—The beginning of the intrigue of the secret treaty with France in the year 1669.

London, 17 Feb. 1668.

YOU must excuse the bearer if he has staid here too long, because it has not been his fault. I was desirous to have sent along with him a man capable of treating upon our affair, but that was impossible, and I own to you that I foresee difficulties enough in finding a person who knows the language, and that is versed in business, in whom I can confide: nevertheless I will do every thing in my power to accomplish it, and shall be very sorry, if not daring to send Leighton to you, nor capable to find another, I must be reduced to the necessity of entering into the matter with the Ambassador here, as it will greatly lengthen the affair.—I have been with him as you ordered me, and told him
that

that you commanded me to communicate every thing to him, but that I did not dare to do it without the King my master's leave, and for this reason I desired him to ask your pardon on my part. I have also burnt your note, and beg you will believe that the strongest desire I have in this world is to obey you.

For the love of God don't be impatient; and consider that in a place where every measure must be taken to gain the good will of the people, one cannot act with so much dispatch as might be wished.—*In the Depot.*

It is observable of this letter, that Buckingham avoids an intercourse with the French Ambassador, which had probably been thought expedient by the Dukes, and this is frequently repeated in the French correspondence on this head. The reason was, he wanted to reserve all the honour of the treaty to the Dukes and himself.

In the summer of the year 1668, Charles frequently renewed the attempt to a treaty with France. But France seems to have stood off, distrusting his sincerity. On this subject there is at Versailles the following letter, and the following memorial from Monsieur Rouvigny.

Translation of a letter from Monsieur de Rouvigny to Louis the XIV. dated May 21, 1668.—Charles and the Duke of York make advances to France.

SIRE,

THE King of England and his Highness the Duke of York continue to assure me that they will be extremely glad to enter into the strictest union with your Majesty. The first discoursed me yesterday a long time upon the subject, and after having spoke of your Majesty with admiration,

admiration, he told me that he would willingly make a treaty with you, as between gentleman and gentleman, and that he preferred your word to all the parchment in the world. I answer'd him, that he could not doubt of the esteem and affection your Majesty had for him and his interests, after so many proofs as he had received since I had been near his person: that on his part he had so little answered thereto, that I knew very well this conduct had given you some mistrust; but that I did not doubt, if he would declare his sentiments to me, in order that I might inform you of them, your Majesty would be very sensible of them. In all appearance this will go farther; for which reason, I most humbly beg your Majesty to send me instructions thereupon, and inform me if you approve of my waiting upon you whenever I may judge it necessary for your service, without waiting any other permission to make the journey, for perhaps they may put a great deal of confidence in me here,—*In the Depot.*

Translation of the Memorial presented to the King by Mons. de Rouvigny at his return from England. — Mons. Rouvigny arrived in France, July 3, 1668. — Charles had solicited a treaty with France before the triple alliance, and presses for it immediately after.

IN all the last conversations I have had with the King of England, I have never found him continue in the same way of thinking. He has always expressed to me a strong desire to unite himself more strictly with the King, well knowing that nothing can be more advantageous, nor more necessary for the benefit of his affairs; but he has as often changed his thoughts with regard to the manner. Some time before the peace was made, he often told me that he had a great desire to enter into a strict alliance with France, but it was necessary he should be assisted, because there were

a great many people about him of a different way of thinking. That as to himself, he had always had this inclination; that I knew it better than any body, and that I could not have the least doubt of it, after the things he had told me when I took leave of him the last time I was in England. Upon which I answered, that the King had not a less desire than him to compleat this union. He told me it was necessary the King should make the advances; that it was his part to speak first, without which it would never be in his power to persuade those persons who differed with him in opinion. On this I reply'd, that I knew no other motive that could oblige the King to speak first, but the affection and esteem he had for him, and for this reason he had already done it often enough since I was in England; but they had answered it so badly there, and he had been so ill used, having seen printed in a book of Lisolas some proposals which he had made through me for the glory and advantage of England, that I did not believe he would hereafter expose himself to such accidents; that without this, I was assured the King would not hesitate still to speak first as he had already done, seeing the desire he had to unite interests with him was nothing diminished, and that he was unwilling to amuse himself with ceremonies which were so widely different from his humour, and which often by the loss of time were the ruin of affairs. After these reiterated discourses, the said King has often enough said to me, Leave it to me, I will speak to you the first opportunity. Since the peace he has renewed the same discourse to me, and I have repeated the same things. Our conversations always finished with his giving me hopes that he would say something to me in confidence, with which I should be satisfied. The Duke of York very much wishes for this union, as does the Duke of *Bou*g (i. e. Buckingham); they put on no hypocrisy, and say there is no other good method to re-establish the affairs of this court.

They

They have often spoke to the King of England upon it, but he is hindered by M. B. C. who, being advised by Lifola, tells him from time to time, that his honour is concerned if he enters first into the affair, and that it will be the means of nothing being done. He dares not tell his master, that he should not make this alliance; on the contrary, he owns it to be a good one, but he says the King (i. e. of France) is not for it; and that if he was, he would have no difficulty in making the first proposal, in which case it would not fail of having a good success. He agrees upon the whole, but destroys it through form. The King of England gave me all these answers: In short, after some other conversations, he laughed at this point of honour, and gave me to understand, that he should be very sorry if he was believed capable of so great a weakness; that he had always the same desire to unite himself with the King, and the same knowledge that his friendship would be very useful to him; that it was not this point of honour that hindered him from speaking first: that was a very chimerical thought, but only the great prejudice he should receive in his state, considering its present constitution, if the King should not take his proposals well; that having made them, they might be also made known to the Hollanders, and even used to the advantage of the interests of France, and the prejudice of his own. On which I reply'd, That what he did me the honour to say to me in confidence led to no consequence, because I not being his subject, and not having any credential letter from him, he might at any time be pleased to disown me, if he saw me abuse it; and that I could assure him, what he also well knew, that the King my master was not capable of abusing his confidence, nor of employing such like means, which were unworthy his generosity, and very contrary to his humour: He thereupon told me, that he was not able to disown a thing he had once said. Afterwards he asked me, if it had not been proposed to Vanbunning to

divide the Low Countries in case of the King of Spain's death. I told him I knew nothing of it, though it should be true; but it was not difficult to see that this news came from Lifola's shop; that it could not be true for many reasons, of which I would only mention one; which was, that I had often heard it said by Vanbunning, that his masters would rather wish the whole Catholic Low Countries were in the hands of the King of Spain, than to have them divided with his Majesty, whose neighbourhood they terribly feared. After which the same King asked me, if the King was at liberty, and in a condition of making an offensive and defensive league; that if it was so, and his Majesty had a design to conclude a good treaty, he could answer to me for the event, and such a success as would please the King. In short, after the last conversation I had with the King of England, he told me, that he had so often assured me of his ardent desire to unite himself strictly in friendship and interest with the King, that it was unnecessary to speak any more upon it; but that it remained for him as a mark of his freedom to tell me one thing; which was, that suspicion and diffidence having till now hindered this union, and the same things being liable to happen again, he believed the best way to begin was by destroying them; that to this end, after having thought of it, he could find no better means than this; to wit, that the two Kings should reciprocally engage to do nothing for the time to come without the participation and consent of each other: that this would be laying a good foundation on which they might work with leisure and safety to form a good alliance, which, according to his inclinations, could not be too strong, considering his condition; and that there was nothing to hinder him to make an offensive and defensive league with France, towards all and against all. That if the King would act with the same spirit as himself, he would always answer for secrecy, and for a good success. That the Duke of
York,

York, and all who composed his council, were of the same way of thinking, and had no other sentiments than his. That he desired me to assure the King of it, and to tell him, that if he would engage on his part, as he was ready to do on his, not to undertake or make, for the time to come, any negotiation or treaty, one without the other, it was beyond a doubt they might soon after very easily conclude an union, that hitherto had been only prevented through diffidence.

The day after this conversation, I communicated it to the Duke of Buckingham, who expressed great satisfaction; but 24 hours after, he told me the thing was changed, and that the King his master had returned to the difficulty of speaking first; which obliged me to put in writing all that the King of England had said to me on the 18th of June, to the end he might read it, and I know from himself whether it did not contain the same things he had done me the honour to mention to me. His Majesty told me, that I had changed none of his discourse, but he desired I would not relate these things as from him to the King; but only that he had said them to me, and that he consented I should tell them to his Majesty as matters trusted to me, and which he was not displeased I should explain as his thoughts. Upon which I asked him, if he still harp'd upon the point of honour? he answered no; but that he fear'd the Dutch would be soon after informed of this proposal, if I made it on his part. I have seen him three times since, and still found him in the same way of thinking. The last time I took leave of him, he recommended it strongly to me to say, that the last words were the thoughts of his heart, and that he had said them to me in great confidence.

M. B. C. has told him, that the King pretends to universal monarchy, and that it is necessary to clip the wings of those who would soar too high.

From the above memorial and letter it appears, that, instead of France drawing Charles into the secret alliance, to defeat the triple alliance, as has been commonly thought, Charles drew France into it.

It appears also from the memorial, that Buckingham misrepresented his master's sentiments, to prevent the treaty from going into the French Ambassador's hands.

These letters about the triple league do also great honour to the memory of Sir William Temple, who formed it in five days, and who was not ignorant that there was a French interest at work with his master. Vide Sir William Temple's letters in Jan. 7, 1678.

When the French court came to listen seriously to Charles's proposals for a secret treaty, Buckingham was dropped, and the correspondence passed through the hands of the Duchess of Orleans, who had infinite beauty and talents; and whom it was known to the French court Charles loved to extravagance, as appears from many letters in the Depot at Versailles, to the French court from their ambassadors in England. In one of these letters Colbert says, that her influence over him was remarked by all, that he had wept often when he parted with her, and that whatever favour she asked for any one was granted.

There are the following letters on the subject of an alliance with France from King Charles to her in the Depot at Versailles.

Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orleans.—Impatient with the delays of France about the treaty.

Whithall, 19 Jan. 1669.

I HAVE received yours of the 20, and you have reason to wonder that you have been so long without hearing

hearing from me, but I have had nothing to say. I shall not say much to you because Rouvigny will be dispatched in two or three days, and by him you will heare at large from me, only I cannot chuse but observe to you now, that I see that Monfr. Comminges does not all good offices there, by foretelling my intentions in as ill a fence as he uses to doe, and my Ld. Hollis writes something to me about giving commissions to the city of Bremen, which the K. my brother sayes he will be satisfied in, before he goes on with our treaty, which is so great a dreame to me, as I know not from whence this fancy proceeds, except it be from Monfr. de Comminge, who I am confident you will finde in the end, hath done me as many ill offices, as hath layne in his power to do, and I do wonder that after the advances I made by C. Barckly I should find the treaty go on slower than it did, my Ld. Hollis haveing receaved not yett an answer to his last paper, which is now almost two monthes agoe. After all this when Rouvigny returnes, you shall find my minde not changed, but that I will be as sincere in that matter as I promised you to be; and if there be any thing altered in my condition since we first talked of this matter it is for the better; and so good night, for 'tis late.— *In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Duchesse of Orleans.—He has wrote to Louis the XIV. enjoins secrecy; is undetermined what to agree upon.

Whithall, 20 Jan. 1669.

YOU will see by the letter which I have written to the King my brother, the desire I have to enter into a personall friendship with him, and to unite our interests so for the future as there may never be any jealousies betweene us. The only thing which can give any impediment to what we both desire, is the matter of the sea, which is so
essencial

essential a point to us heere, as an union upon any other security can never be lasting, nor can I be answerable to my kingdomes if I should enter into an alliance wherein their present and future security were not fully provided for: I am now thinking of the way how to proceede in this whole matter which must be carried on with all secrecy imaginable, till the particulars are farther agreed upon; I must confesse I was not very glad to heare you were with childe, because I had a thought by your making a journey hether, all things might have been adjusted without any suspicion, and as I shall be very just to the King my brother in never mentioning what has past between us, in case this negociation does not succcede as I desire, so I expect the same justice and generosity from him, that no advances which I make out of the desire I have to obtaine a true friendship betweene us, may ever turne to my prejudice. I send you heere inclosed my letter to the King my brother, desiring that this matter might passe through your handes as the person in the world I have the most confidence in, and I am very glad to finde that Mons. de Turenne is so much your frinde, who I esteeme very much, and assure my selfe will be very useful in this negociation. I assure you that there is no league entered into as yett with the Empereur; the only league I am in is in the guaranty I am ingaged in with the Hollanders upon the peace at Aix, which is equally bindeing towards both the crowns: I think Mr. de Lorene deserves to be punished for his unquiet humour, but I wish the King my brother do not proceede too farr in that matter, least he gives a jealousy to his neighbours that he intends a farther progresse than what he declared at first, which might be very prejudiciall to what you and I wish and endeavour to compasse, and you shall not want upon all occasions full informations necessary; but we must have a great care what we write by the post, least it fall into hands which may hinder our designe, for I must

must again conjure you that the whole matter be an absolute secrett, otherwise we shall never compasse the end we aime at. I have not yet absolutely contrived how to proceede in this businesse, because there must be all possible precautions used, that it may not eclat before all things be agreed upon, and pray do you thinke of all the wayes you can to the same end, and communicate them to me. I send you heere a cypher wich is very easy and secure, the first side is the single cypher, and within such names I could thinke of necessary to our purpose. I have no more to add but that I am entierly yours. K.—*In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Duchesse of Orleans. — Has made the first advances, and waits for an answer.

Whithall, 9 Feb. 1668^b

I MUST in the first place aske your pardon for having mist so many posts: the truth of it is, what between businesse and the little mascarades we have had, and besides the little businesse I had to write, with the helpe of the cold wether, I did not thinke it worth your trouble and my owne to freeze my fingers for nothing, haveing said all to Rouvigny that was upon my harte, and I am very glad to finde by yours that you are so well satisfied with what he brings; it lies wholly on your parts now to answer the advances I have made, and if all be not as you wish, the faulte is not on my side. I was this morning at the Parliament House to passe the Bille for the five and twenty hundred thousand pounds, and the commissioners are going into their severall cuntryes for the raysing it according to the act. We are using all possible diligence in the setting out the fleete for spring. My Lord Sandwich sett saile two days since with 18 good ships, to seeke out a squadron of the Dutch fleete which we heare was seen upon the north coast of England; and if he has the good fortune to
meete

meete with them, I hope he will give a good accounte of them. — *In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orleans.—The Duke of York has come into the project on the score of religion.—Bids her not write to Buckingham.

Whithall, 22 March, 1669.

I HAD not my cipher at Newmarket when I received yours of the 16, so as I could say nothing to you in answer to it till now, and before this comes to your hands, you will cleerly see upon what score ^Y363. (York) is come upon the businesse, and for what reason I desired you not to write to any body upon the businefs of ^F271. (France). ^B341. (Buckingham) knowes nothing of ^K360. (King Charles) intentions towards ^C290. ^R319. (Catholic religion) nor of the person ^A334. (Arundel) sends to ^R100. (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) and you need not feare that ^B341. (Buckingham) will take it ill that 103. does not write to him, for I have tould him that I have forbid 129. to do it for feare of intercepting the letters, nor indeed is there much use of our writing much upon this subject, because letters may mis-carry, and you are before this time so fully acquainted with all, as there is nothing to be added till my messenger comes back. — *In the Depot.*

Charles

Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orleans. — He is fortifying places at home. — Is not to touch church lands. — Buckingham afterwards to be brought in. — The King's resentment against the Dutch.

Whithall, 6 June, 1669.

THE opportunity of this bearer going into France, gives me a good occasion to answer your letters by my lord Arlington, and in the first place to tell you I am securing all the principall postes of this countrey, not only fortifying them as they ought to be, but likewise the keeping them in such handes as I am sure will be faithfull to me upon all occasions, and this will secure the fleete; because the cheefe places where the ships lye are Chattam and Portsmouth, the first of which is fortifying with all speede, and will be finished this yeare; the other is in good condition already, but not so good as I desire, for it will cost some mony and time to make the place as I have designed it; and I will not have lesse care both in Scotland and Ireland. As for that which concerns those who have church lands, there will be easy wayes found out to secure them and put them out of all apprehension. There is all the reason in the worlde to joyne profit with honour when it may be

^Rdone honestly, and ^K126. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) will find ^K360. (King Charles) as forward to do ^{Holland}299. a good turne as he can desire, and they will I dout not agree very well in the point, for he has used them both very scurvily.

^KI am sure ^K334. (King Charles) will never be satisfied till he has had his revenge, and is very willing to enter into an agreement upon that matter whensoever ^R152. (le Roy, i. e.

^ALouis the XIV.) please, and I will answer for ^A346. (Arlington)
 Vol. I. L

ton) that he will be as forward in that matter as I am, and farther assurance you cannot expect from an honest man in his post, nor ought you to trust him if he should make any other professions than to be for what his master is for. I say this to you because I undertooke to answer that part of the letter you writ to him upon this subject, and I hope this will be full satisfaction as to him in the future that there may be no doubt, since I do answer for him. I had writ thus far when I receaved yours by Elyas, by which I perceive the inclination there still is of trusting 112. (Commin-gé) with the maine businesse, which I must confesse for many reasons I am very unwilling to, and if there were no other reason than his understanding, which, to tell you the truth, I have not so great an esteeme for, as to be willing to trust him with that which is of so much concerne. There

Mon.

will be a time when both he and 342. (Monsieur, i. e. the Duke of Orleans) may have a share in part of the matter, but for the great secrett if it be not kept so till all things be ready to begin, we shall never go through with it, and de-

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stroy the whole businesse. I have seene your letter to 341. (Buckingham) and what you write to him is as it ought to be, he shall be brought into all the businesse before he can

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suspect any thing, except that which concernes 263. (Religion) which he must not be trusted with: you will do well to write but seldome to him, for feare something may slip from your penn which may make him jealous that there is something more then what he knowes of. I do long to

L. A.

hear from 340. (Lord Arundel) or to see him heere, for till I see the paper you mention which comes from 113. I cannot say more than I have done. And now I shall only add one word of this bearer Mr. de la Hilliere, who I have found by my acquaintance with him since his being heere

France

to

to have both witt and judgement, and a very honest man, and pray let him know that I am very much his frind, and if at any time you can give him a good word to the King of France, I shall be very glad of it: I will end this with desiring you to beleieve that I have nothing so much at my hart as to be able to acknowledge the kindnesse you have for me: if I thought that making many compliments upon the matter would perswade you more of the sincerity of my kindnesse to you, you should not want whole sheets of paper with nothing but that; but I hope you have that justice as to beleieve me more than I can expresse entierly yours.—
In the Depot.

*Charles the II. to the Duchesse of Orleans.— Enjoins secrecy.
 —Is impatient for Lord Arundel's return.*

Whithall, 7 June 1669.

I WRITT to you yesterday by Mr. de la Hiliere upon
 C
 that important point, whether 112. (Comminge) ought to be acquainted with our secrett, and the more I think of it, the more I am perplexed: reflecting upon his insufficiency, I cannot thinke him fitt for it, and therefore could wish some other fitter man in his station, but because the at-
 B
 tempting of that might disoblige 137. (Buckingham) I can by no means advise it: upon the whole matter I see no
 C
 kinde of necessity of telling 112. (Comminge) of the secrett
 E
 now, nor indeede till 270. (England) is in a better redi-
 F
 nesse to make use of 297. (France) towards the great businesse: meethinks it will be enough that 164. be made ac-
 R
 quainted with 100. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) security
 K
 in 360. (King Charles) friendship without knowing the rea-

son of it: To conclude, remember how much the secrett

in this matter importes ^K 386. (King Charles) and take care

that no new body be acquainted with it till I see what ^{L. A.} 340.

(Lord Arundel) brings ^K 334 (King Charles) in answer to his propositions, and till you have my consent that 164. or any body else have there share in this matter. I would

faine know (which I cannot do but by ^{L. A.} 366. (Lord Arun-

del) how ready ^{France} 323. is to breake with ^{Holland} 299. that is the game that would as I conceive most accommodate the interests

^{England} both of 270. and 297. ^{France} As for ^{Spain} 324. he is sufficiently undo-

ing himselfe to neede any helpe from ^{France} 271. Nay I am persuaded the meddling with him would unite and make his

councells stronger: the sooner you dispatch ^{L. A.} 340. (Lord Arundel) the more cleerely we shall be able to judge of the whole matter. One caution more I had like to have forgotten, that when it shall be fit to acquainte 138. with

^R 152. (le Roy) security in ^K 386. (King Charles) frindship, he

must not say any thing of it in ^{England} 270. and pray lett the mi-

nisters in ^{France} 297. speak less confidently of ^K 360. (King Charles) frindship than I heare they do, for it will infinitely discom-

pose ^{Parlement} 269. when he meets with ^K 334 (King Charles) to be-

leeve that ^K 386. (King Charles) is tied so fast with ^{France} 271. and

make ^{Parlement} 321. have a thousand jealousies upon it.—*In the Dept.*

Charles the II. to the Duchefs of Orleans.—Impatient for an answer from the French court about the treaty.

Whithall, 24 Oct. 1669.

I HAVE nothing to say more to you upon our publique businesse till I have an answer from you of my last letter by the post, only that I expect with impatiency to know your mindes there, and then you shall finde me as forward to a strict friendship with the King my brother as you can wish. I am yours.—*In the depot.*

In the Depot, at Versailles, there is a letter from Sir Ellis Lighton to the Duchefs of Orleans, dated 18 Jan. 1669. in which he tells her, that Buckingham had refused to treat with Mons. Colbert, the French ambaffador, on account, as he said, that he was afraid of a discovery.

On the 12 August, 1669, there is a letter from Mons. Colbert, then ambaffador in England. to Mons. de Lyonne, the French King's secretary of state, that Buckingham had offered to go over to France to make a treaty there between France and England, but that he, Colbert, had prevented him; and there are other letters to the same purpose. In the mean time the treaty was going on unknown to Buckingham by the intervention of the Duchefs of Orleans.

On the 2d of September, 1669, King Charles writes thus to his sister.

Charles the II. to the Duchefs of Orleans.—The triple alliance had been made against his inclinations.

2d September, 1669.

YOU judge very well, when you conclude that I am satisfied with Mons. Colbert, and I with all my heart that France had been as forward in their

their intentions towards us when Rouvigny was here, as I see they are now; I should not have been so embarrassed with the ties I am now under, if the offers I then made had been accepted. — I have upon all occasions let Monsr. Colbert know the kindness I have for you, and that if I had no other inclination to France but your being there, it would be a sufficient matter to make me desire passionately a strict union with them. — *In the Depot.*

This letter shows that the triple alliance against France was against King Charles's inclinations.

In the Depot are the two following letters, between Louis the XIV. and King Charles, about the treaty.

Translation of a letter from Louis XIV. to the King of England. — Happy in the Duchess of Orleans being mediatrix between them. — Strong expressions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my Brother,

10 Sep. 1669.

AS you judged by my answer that I had entirely paid the confidence you placed in me, I own that by your reply you have regained the same advantage, not being able to find any thing more to wish, neither as to the things themselves, nor in the manner of expressing them. I flatter myself also that the memorial which accompanies this letter will give you the same satisfaction: and it appears to me there is nothing wanting but speedily to put a hand to the work, for establishing the foundations of what we both so ardently wish for: on this I expect to hear from you with as much impatience as my sister, for whom we have so much friendship, and who so happily is the mediatrix of this negotiation, being as she is so natural a tie to our union.

Letter

Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIV.—Strong expressions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my Brother,

30 September, 1669.

THE bearer is so well known to you, there needs no farther recommendation for his being believed in the discourse he will hold to you on my part. My sister will at the time of his arrival deliver to you a paper which I thought proper should accompany him, in which you will see the most secret sentiments of my soul on the subject of the said discourse. I address the said paper to you by the hands of my sister, to confirm you in that mutual confidence we both have in her discretion and zeal to unite us more strongly. I have charged the bearer to assure you of the entire satisfaction I have in your just and obliging proceeding with regard to myself, and of the real friendship with which I am.

It appears from Colbert's dispatches, in the Depot, that King Charles, some time before this, had sent over Lord Arundel to Paris to treat with France, and had appointed him, Lord Clifford, Sir Richard Bealling, and Lord Arlington, his commissioners to manage it. The three first of these persons were declared Roman Catholics. Lord Arlington was a concealed one, and on his death-bed declared his faith publicly, as appears from a subsequent part of the French dispatches in the Depot. What the views of King Charles and the French were in entering into a treaty, will be seen from a conversation between King Charles and Colbert, related in the following letter, in the Depot, from Mons. Colbert to his own court, who was sent over to England in place of Mons. de Comminge, to be ready to manage the treaty there.

Letter

Letter from Monsf. Colbert to Louis the XIV. 13th Nov. 1669.

—Has got Lord Arundel's propositions and his own instructions.—His conversation with Charles the 11. about the secret treaty.—Charles trusts to a military force.—Inclines to declare himself Catholic, in order to satisfy his conscience, and strengthen his authority, before he declares war against the Dutch.—Colbert urges him rather to begin with the war, in order that he may have the greater force of his own and the French troops ready to support his authority when he declares himself Catholic.

SIRE,

13 Nov. 1669.

THE messenger your Majesty dispatched to me arrived here on Sunday morning the 10th instant, and after having given me the letter from Mr. Colbert, which orders me, on the part of your Majesty to cypher and decypher myself all the letters I shall receive or write concerning the important affair which you have done me the honour to confide to me: he delivered to me the paquet containing your Majesty's memorial to serve me by way of instruction; all the propositions made by the Earl of Arundel, with the answers; your Majesty's letter to the King of Great Britain; and the power delegated to me written and signed with your hand, and that on parchment. I employed the rest of the day in decyphering, reading, and examining the contents of the dispatches; and as the King of England was engaged all Monday at chapel, and with parliamentary affairs, I had not my private audience till yesterday evening, when after having read your Majesty's letter, he was pleased to tell me, that the conduct I had held till now, had been so agreeable to him, that he had not the least diffidence to trust me with the most important secret of his life; and that besides the good opinion he had of me, it was confirmed to him by your Majesty's letter
and

and that of Madame, who desired he would shew no reserve to me. I told him, as I really thought, that I was so sensibly touched with the confidence your Majesty and himself had placed in me in an affair of so great consequence to both your kingdoms, and even to all Christendom, if I employed my whole life, and all I was worth, to procure success, it would not be sufficient to testify my gratitude: that there being no longer any difference between his interests and those of his Majesty, I would serve him also with the same zeal and the same fidelity; and as to keeping the secret, I informed him of your Majesty's order, and assured him, that I would use all diligence, and take every possible precaution to avoid giving the least suspicion to any body. He afterwards asked me, if I had seen the proposals he had made to your Majesty. I told him you had sent me copies of all that had been written on both sides upon the subject; that his sentiments appeared to me very generous, and truly worthy of a great King: that your Majesty was perfectly well satisfied with them, and principally with the confidence he had shewn to you in communicating his design; that moreover I could not sufficiently express to him the obligation your Majesty was under for his disposition to join himself with you, in order to facilitate the acquisition of the new claims you might have upon the Spanish monarchy: that as it was the most capital interest you could ever have, you acknowledged of what important service this junction would be, if the occasion presented itself by the death of the Catholic King; and what advantages it would produce in favour of your Majesty in the pursuit of your right, and to England also, as he justly saw. He told me afterwards, he believed, that in reading all the writings, I must have thought that he, and those to whom he had entrusted the conduct of this affair, were all fools to pretend to re-establish the Catholic religion in England; that, in effect, every person versed in the affairs of his king-

dom, and the humour of his people, ought to have the same thought; but that, after all, he hoped that, with your Majesty's support, this great undertaking would have a happy success: that the Presbyterians, and the other sects, had a greater aversion to the English church than to the Catholics; that all the sectaries desired only the free exercise of their religion, and provided they could obtain it, as it was his design they should, they would not oppose his intended change of religion: that besides, he has some good troops strongly attached to him, and if the deceased King his father had had as many, he would have stifled in their birth those troubles that caused his ruin; that he would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies under the most specious pretexts he could devise: that all the magazines of arms are at his disposal, and all well filled. That he was sure of the principal places in England and Scotland: that the governor of Hull was a Catholic; that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and many other places he named, among the rest Windsor, would never depart from the duty they owed him: that as to the troops in Ireland, he hoped the Duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would be always faithful to him; and that though the Duke, not approving this change of religion, should fail in his duty, my Lord Orrery, who was a Catholic in his heart, and who had still a greater power in that army, would lead it wherever he should command him: That your Majesty's friendship, of which he had the most obliging proofs in the world by the answers given to his proposals, and with which he assured me he was entirely satisfied, would also be of great service to him: and in short, he told me that he was pressed both by his conscience, and by the confusion which he saw encreasing from day to day in his kingdom, to the diminution of his authority, to declare himself a Catholic; and besides the spiritual advantage he should draw from it, he believed it to be

the only means of re-establishing the monarchy. I said to him, that the design was great and generous, and that I hoped by timing it well it would succeed : that as your Majesty trusted to his prudence for the choice of the time, I had nothing to say to it, unless he would hearken to the reasons that my zeal alone for his service suggested, and the knowledge I had acquired during my stay at his court ; and as he had told me he should be glad to take my counsel in the whole of this affair, I did not doubt of what he had done me the honour to tell me, to wit, that if the late King, his father, had had as many troops as himself, he would easily have quashed the rebellion in its birth, as it originally began by trifling troubles excited by the intrigues of the court, in which the people had hardly any share, and which had gained force and vigour, through the impunity alone in which the royal authority, not being supported by any troops, was constrained to leave them ; but that the troubles which it was to be feared his declaration would cause, would be of quite another nature ; that perhaps nine parts in ten of his kingdom would take an interest in it ; that if the Presbyterians and sectaries hated the English more than the Catholic church, it was because the last was at present at the lowest ebb, and more worthy of pity than envy ; but when they saw it restored by the Prince's declaration, and reflected upon the discredit into which their sect might fall in the course of time, they would probably unite with the Protestants to oppose this change : That experience had too much demonstrated, that religious motives were a fire of sulphur and saltpetre, which in an instant sets in a flame the whole extent of its matter, and is never more furious nor more violent than in the beginning. That seditions must be expected in every part of the kingdom ; and that in London there never were wanting persons to head rebellions of this kind : That I had even learnt there were more than 20,000 men in London and

its environs, who had borne arms during Cromwell's usurpation, and were driven to despair to find themselves without employment : that there was reason therefore to believe that, on an occasion like this, they would all be ready to take up arms to support rebellion ; that though none of the troops he kept in pay, or of those faithful subjects he depended on, should fail him in the time of need, yet they might perhaps be overcome by the multitude of rebels, even before the troops your Majesty had agreed to furnish could possibly arrive : That the tower of London, which is his principal magazine of arms, is of no defence, and would not probably hold out a day if attacked : That it is not to be hoped the Hollanders, who with reason will fear the consequence of this declaration, will keep themselves entirely quiet, and not take part in what may happen : that, on the contrary, they would employ both their treasure and their credit to form obstacles to the execution of a design so fatal to their state : and, in short, in my opinion, his crown, as well as all his trusty servants, are in great danger from a premature declaration : that, on the contrary, I saw every kind of safety in the part your Majesty proposed him to take, of beginning by declaring war against Holland, and its happy success might be answered for : for, first, I could not doubt that when he acquainted his parliament, his strongest desire was to render the English navigation still more flourishing than it had ever been, and that the greatest obstacle thereto were the Dutch, who having, by very tyrannical means, engrossed the commerce of the whole world, (so that 16000 vessels are hardly sufficient for their trade) and refused him any satisfaction to the just demands he had made, as well for the liberty of trade to the East Indies, as upon other heads which regard the interests of his subjects, he had resolved to declare war against them, in order to bring them to reason, and that to this end he had taken such prudent measures with your Majesty that he

could

could insure the success, provided his parliament would grant him only two thirds or one half of the assistance they before gave him on the like occasion, I was, I said, fully persuaded that he would obtain a sufficient succour, which joined to his ordinary revenue, and to the helps which your Majesty will afford him in troops and money, would put an end to the war in one campaign, and thereby he would acquire as much glory and as many advantages as could be desired; there being the greatest appearance that the major part of the German princes, who are either in friendship with your Majesty or with him, will join against the Dutch, or at least remain neuter; which is not to be expected from the Protestant Kings and Princes, if this war were preceded by his declaring himself a Catholic, which would give the Dutch room to make them believe that it was a religious quarrel. That the States being attacked on the side of the bishopric of Munster, and on other parts by the troops of your Majesty and his, it would not be in their power to fit out a considerable fleet, nor to make a long resistance; and should even your Majesty and he think proper for your common interest to continue the war, he might at the end of the campaign leave only such troops in the places which fell to his share, as he had the least reason to trust with regard to his declaring himself a Catholic, and order those only home who were more devoted to his interest; and with these, in conjunction with the recruits and levies which he might raise during the campaign, under pretence of continuing the war, he might support his change of religion: that then there would not be the least apprehension that his subjects seeing him well armed by sea and land, and that it was in his power to dispose of all your Majesty's forces against his enemies, whether foreign or domestic, and besides satisfied of the advantages he would procure them by a successful commencement of the war, and a free liberty of conscience which he was to grant, would, or indeed

durst

durst make the least resistance to his will ; on the contrary, by assembling his parliament in this conjuncture, he would evidently draw such supplies for the continuation of the war, and such acts in favour of religion as he could desire. That the Dutch being declared enemies to the state, and consequently those who held correspondence with them, without his permission, liable to be punished as traitors to their King and country, they would not find it near so easy to form, support, and maintain a rebellion, as when, under the appearance of friends, they and their emissaries could have the liberty of intriguing and undertaking every thing. In fine, Sire, after having made the best use I possibly could of all the other reasons contained in your Majesty's memorial, this Prince gave for answer, that he was not yet quite determined upon the time of making his declaration ; that it might perhaps be best for your Majesty to begin the war with Holland, and thereby furnish him with a pretence to arm ; and soon after he might without risque declare his being a Catholic, and war against Holland ; and the first succeeding as it probably would, he might in a month or two join his forces to those of your Majesty against the common enemy. He told me also, that as soon as the project which his commissioners were at work upon was finished, he would communicate it to me, and that he was very impatient to have this great affair speedily concluded to your mutual satisfaction ; and after having given me the most obliging assurances of his esteem that I could desire, he dismissed me. I have also executed your Majesty's orders to my Lord Arlington ; he testified to me the strongest desire to preserve your Majesty's esteem. He also promised me that for the time to come he would act with me with an entire openness of heart, and without any reserve. I answered him with so much the more sincerity, as the knowledge your Majesty gave me of the affection and zeal of this Minister for the King his Master's service, had
changed

changed the little dissatisfaction his past coldness had given me into a strong inclination to honour him as a wise and faithful minister; and as I have every reason to be satisfied with him, he also appeared to be so with the sincere protestations that I made him. With regard to the affair that is entrusted to us, our conversation being in almost every thing the same with that I had with the King, I will not trouble your Majesty with it, to avoid a tiresome repetition. He told me, he had been so much taken up with parliamentary affairs, that he could not give any attention to the project of the treaty; but that he would now employ himself with all the diligence the subject merited; and to avoid giving the least suspicion by more frequently visiting than we had been used to do, he thought it best to write to each other reciprocally; and to make it more sure, he would dispose the King and the Duke of York to allow that what letters we wrote should be put into their hands, without any other person knowing any thing of it; that it was equally necessary I should as soon as possible give my answers upon the treaty of commerce, to the end that this affair might furnish us with a pretence to see each other oftener; and he thought it adviseable a report should be spread that the King his master had solicited your Majesty to submit to his arbitration the difference he had with Spain concerning the execution of the treaty of Aix, in order to enhance your Majesty's complaisance to the English, and remove every cause of fear that you intend to recommence the Spanish war.

I have also seen the Duke of York, who in substance said nearly the same things to me that the King and Lord Arlington had. As soon as they put into my hands the project of the treaty, I shall not fail to dispatch a messenger who will carry it safely, and without loss of time to Mr. De Lyonne.

In

In the Depot at Versailles there is the following draught of the secret treaty drawn by Sir Richard Bealling, and presented to the French court.

*Copy of a memorial remitted by Mr. Belin to Mr. Colbert, 18th Dec. 1666. — Charles is to get £.200,000 for declaring himself Catholic. — France is to assist him with troops if his subjects rebel. — If the King of Spain dies without issue, Spain is to be divided, England to get Minorca, Ostend, and Spanish America; and France to get the rest of the Spanish dominions. — Holland to be divided between France and England, and provision to be made for the young Prince of Orange. — King Charles to have 800,000 pounds a year during the Dutch war. — War to be declared against Ham-
burgh.*

Project of a secret treaty of perpetual league and confederacy between the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King.

Translation.

IT hath been treated, agreed, and concluded that there shall be for ever a good, sure, and firm peace, union, true brothership, confederacy, friendship, alliance, and good correspondence between the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors of the one part, and the most Christian King of the other part; and between all and every of their kingdoms, states, and territories; between their subjects and vassals that they now have and possess, or that they may hereafter have and possess as well by sea and fresh waters as by land. And as a testimony that this peace shall remain inviolable, and beyond the power of any thing in
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the world to disturb it, there follow articles of so great confidence, and otherwise so advantageous to the said sovereign Lords, that it is hardly possible to find in any age more important ones agreed and concluded upon. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his most Christian Majesty necessary to facilitate his design: It is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his most Christian Majesty shall furnish to the King of England, before the said declaration, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; the one half of the said sum shall be paid three months after the reciprocal ratification of the present treaty; and the other half three months after the expiration of that time: and further, that the said Lord the most Christian King, shall assist his Britannic Majesty with troops and money as often as there shall be need, in case the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel against his said Britannic Majesty (which cannot be believed.) And to the end that the said declaration may have the wished-for success, and be executed with the greater safety, it is likewise agreed that the day for executing the design shall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

2. It is also agreed between the most Christian King and his Britannic Majesty, that the said Lord the most Christian King shall not break nor ever infringe the peace he hath made with Spain; and that he will not controvert in any manner what he hath promised by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and consequently the King of Great Britain shall be allowed to maintain the said treaty conformable to the conditions of the triple alliance, and the engagements that depend thereon.

3. That if there should fall hereafter to the most Christian King any new rights and titles on the Spanish mo-

narchy, it is agreed between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King, that the said King of Great Britain shall assist the said most Christian King with all his forces, as well by sea as land, to facilitate the acquisition of the said rights; the whole at the expence of the most Christian King. And in order to obviate all disputes that may happen about adjusting the accounts of the said troops, it is concluded and agreed between the said Lords the Kings, that the levying and transporting all the land forces which the most Christian King shall have occasion for, or may require, shall be at the expence of the said most Christian King; and the present treaty being concluded, particular articles shall hereafter be adjusted, as well touching the pay and subsistence of the said land forces, as to regulate the manner and conditions upon which they are to serve: But as a calculation cannot well be made of the expences of a naval armament, subject to such a variety of accidents, and composed of so many parts, it is necessary to reduce the whole to one head; it is therefore agreed that the naval forces which shall be employed, as abovementioned, in the service of the most Christian King, shall be paid by his said most Christian Majesty at the rate of 3*l.* 16*s.* a man per month, including the pay of all officers, and sailors, the provision, ammunition, rigging, wear, and loss of ships during the war; and that from the time the said troops shall be raised till they are discharged, computing 28 days to a month, and on these conditions such a number of ships shall be furnished, and of such force, as his most Christian Majesty shall judge necessary for his service, and at such time as he shall think proper. And as it may happen that this assistance will be demanded to bring under his most Christian Majesty's obedience some distant provinces and places towards the Mediterranean, which at present are under subjection to the Spaniards, and that it may be inconvenient, nay impossible for his Britannic Majesty's fleets to keep the sea, without
 having

having some ports and havens where they may from time to time put in to careen, get provisions and amunition, and have magazines and proper places to refit, it is agreed between the said sovereign Lords, that the King of Great Britain shall have for ever for himself, his heirs and successors, the island of Minorca; as also for the greater convenience of his land and sea forces, shall have to himself, his heirs and successors, the port and town of Ostend in the Low Countries, with as much of the country round about, as shall be judged capable of paying as much contribution as will subsist such a garrison as it shall be judged necessary to keep there; and in order to take the said places and put his Britannic Majesty in possession of them, the most Christian King will use the same efforts, and employ as many troops as he shall, to take the places the possession of which are to remain with him. And farther, his most Christian Majesty promises and engages, as well in his own name as that of the most Christian Queen, their heirs and successors, and having cause (the before-named claims on the Spanish monarchy being fallen to him) to assist the King of Great Britain to make himself master of the countries and places in America, which at present are under the Spanish domination, and to do all in his power to oblige the people who inhabit those countries and places in America, to submit themselves to the government of the said Lord the King of England, his heirs and successors; and having submitted themselves, or being reduced to submission, the said people shall always be accounted subjects of the said Lord the King of Great Britain, and of his heirs and successors. It is also agreed and concluded, that neither of the said sovereigns shall make a peace, without the consent and approbation of the other, with any Prince or State whatever, who shall oppose the just rights and titles devolved to the most Christian King as is before mentioned.

4. It is covenanted between the said two Sovereigns,

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that they shall make war against the States General of the United Provinces with all their forces by land and sea; and the said Sovereigns shall declare all treaties heretofore made with the said States null, except that already mentioned of the triple alliance made in consequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and neither of the said Kings shall make peace with the said States without the consent of the other. All commerce between the subjects of the said Kings and of the said States shall be prohibited; and if the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns traffic with the subjects of the said States, the ships and goods of such subjects so trading shall be seized by the subjects of the other, and deemed lawful prizes; and if after the declaration of war, the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns shall be enrolled in the service of the said States, and taken prisoners, they shall be punished with death by the Sovereign whose subjects shall take them. And forasmuch as the senate and republic of Hambourg are united in interests with the States General, and experience having shewn, that the said republic will always assist the said states under hand, it is further agreed and concluded upon, that war shall be declared at the same time by the said Sovereigns against the said senate and republic: and as the preparations by sea, in order to bring the war to a happy issue, will necessarily be excessive, and that the burden (much more heavy than that of an army at land) will principally fall upon his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King engages to pay to the King of Great Britain, so long as the war shall continue, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, by way of subsidy, to defray a part of the very great expence which the King of Great Britain must necessarily be at in fitting out all his naval force; which he proposes, and obliges himself to do every year during the course of this war. The half of the said sum of 800,000 *l.* sterling shall be furnished and advanced to the said King of Great Britain three months before the declaration of the said war,
and

and the other half six months after the said declaration; and thus annually, as long as the war shall last, the half in the beginning of each year, and the other half six months after. Besides the said fleet, his Britannic Majesty will always keep on foot a body of 6000 infantry, which he will transport at his own expence; and of all the conquests that shall be made upon the States General, the King of Great Britain will be satisfied with the following places, to wit, the island of Walkeron, l'Ecluse, and the island of Cassante. The manner of attack, and continuing the war shall be settled by a regulation hereafter to be concerted. And as the dissolution of the government of the States General, which is the principal end proposed by this war, will necessarily cause great prejudice to the Prince of Orange, nephew to the King of England; and as many places, towns, and governments belonging to him will be found in the division it is proposed to make of the country, it hath been agreed and concluded that the said Sovereigns will do all in their power that the said Prince may find his advantages in the continuation and end of this war, as shall be hereafter stipulated in separate articles, since it is to be presumed that the credit they will thereby give to the said Prince and his adherents, will contribute much to the good success of the war; at least will sow such seeds of jealousy and divisions among the Dutch, that the conquest of the country will be rendered much more easy.

5. It is also agreed, that before the declaration of war, the two Sovereigns shall use all their efforts jointly or separately, as occasion may require, to persuade the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or one of the two, to enter into this war against the States General; or at least oblige themselves to remain neuter; and they shall also endeavour to draw into this party the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, the house of Brunswick, the Duke of Newbourg, and the Bishop of Munster. The said Sovereigns shall also
do

do all in their power to persuade the Emperor and the Crown of Spain not to oppose the conquest of the said country.

6. These fundamentals being settled, and the King of Great Britain after having declared himself a Catholic, and being in peace at home, leaves to the most Christian King the liberty to name the time when they shall make war with their united forces against the States General; it has also been agreed and concluded, that the most Christian King shall name the time which shall appear to him most proper for the declaration of the said war; the King of Great Britain being assured that his most Christian Majesty in naming the said time, will have regard to the interests of both Crowns, which after the conclusion of this treaty are to be common and inseparable.

7. If upon account of this agreement the one or the other of the said Sovereigns shall find himself hereafter engaged in foreign or domestic wars, the one who is not attacked shall assist the other with all his forces till the foreign war or rebellion shall be ended.

8. If in any preceding treaty made by the one or the other of the said Sovereigns with any Prince or State whatsoever, there should be found any clauses contrary to those which are specified in this league, the said clauses shall be void, and those contained in this present treaty shall remain in their full force and vigour.

From the dispatches in the Depot it appears, that, in the course of the treaty, France refused to agree to the war against Hamburgh, agreed to give two millions of livres, which was at that time about 150,000 *l.* for the King's conversion, with a subsidy of three millions for the Dutch war, and softened the expressions about the money for the King's conversion in the following words:

Project

Project of the end of the second Article.— French variation upon the wording of the article of two millions of livres for the King's conversion.

Translation.

The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, is resolved to reconcile himself to the church of Rome, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom will permit him; and though he has every reason to hope and promise himself from the affection and fidelity of all his subjects, even those to whom the Almighty has not as yet sufficiently spread his grace to dispose them after such an august example to become converts, that they will not fail in that inviolable obedience which all people, even of a different religion, owe their Sovereigns; nevertheless there are often found in large states turbulent and inquiet minds who study to disturb the public peace, particularly when they have so plausible a pretext as that of religion, his Britannic Majesty, who hath nothing more at heart, after having given peace to his own conscience, than to confirm that which the mildness of his government hath procured to his subjects, believes the best means to prevent its being altered, would be the certainty, in case of trouble, of his most Christian Majesty's assistance; who being willing on this occasion to give the said King of Great Britain effective proofs of his friendship, and the desire he hath to contribute to the good success of a design so advantageous to his Britannic Majesty and the whole Catholic religion, hath promised, and doth hereby promise to furnish to the said King of Great Britain the sum of, &c.

In making this treaty King Charles well knew how disagreeable his connexion with France would be to his people.

ple. Colbert repeats what Charles said to him on this head as follows :

Letter Mons. Colbert to Mons. de Lyonne.

Translation.

HE (that is King Charles) told me, that he found himself as it were the only person in his kingdom who had inclinations for France ; that all his subjects were more carried in favour of Spain ; and that therefore he had many measures to preserve.

From the French dispatches at Versailles it appears, that the almost only difference between the two courts about the secret treaty was, that Charles insisted to begin with the declaration of his popery ; whereas Louis the XIV. was eager that he should begin with declaring war in conjunction with him against Holland. It is probable that the view of the Duchess of Orleans' journey to Dover to meet her brother, was to prevail with him to yield this point to France. Part of a letter from Colbert at Dover to Louis the XIV. is as follows.

Part of a letter from Mons. Colbert to Louis the XIV.

Translation.

MADAME told me, that she had shaken her brother's mind, and that she saw him almost disposed to declare war against the Dutch before every other thing.

The same letter adds, that Charles was desirous Marshall Turenne should come over to Dover to fix the plan of the war ; but that he, Colbert had dissuaded King Charles from it, as a thing which would make too much noise.

A few days however after this, it appears from the dispatches in the Depot, that the treaty was concluded upon its original plan by the four popish commissioners, unknown to the King's protestant ministers. The treaty itself is not in the Depot; but there is the following private ratification of it by Louis the XIV.

Translation of a letter of Louis the XIV. to the King of England, dated 10 June, 1670.

I HAVE seen and examined the articles of the treaty that was concluded and signed at Dover the ^{22 May}_{1 June} by Mr Colbert my ambassador, and the Lords Arlington and Arundel of Wardour, and the Chevaliers Clifford and Beling, your commissioners; and tho' I have this day caused my letters of ratification to be expedited in the best form possible, and agreeable to what had been agreed between the said ambassador and commissioners; nevertheless, as they have thought proper, in order to keep this treaty a greater secret till it be time to put it in execution, that our letters of ratification should not be sealed with our great seals, but only with our privy ones, I thought it necessary to assure your Majesty by these lines written with my own hand, that I approve and ratify all the contents of the said treaty, and I promise on the faith and word of a King to observe and keep them inviolably in all points, without ever acting contrary thereto in any manner whatsoever. I hope God will bless our strict union of friendship and interests with all the good success we can wish from it, as well for his own glory as the common good of our subjects. I am, &c.

A letter from Colbert, in the Depot, of the 16th Oct. 1670, mentions Charles's ratification to have been, "The King's signature and seal, and a letter by his own hand."

There is some reason to believe, that whilst King Charles was finishing the treaty, which reserved to him a power of making the declaration of his popery precede the declaration of the war against Holland, he gave the French reason to hope that his inclinations were to begin with the latter. In the Depot there is the following letter from Mons. Colbert.

Letter from Mons. Colbert to Louis the XIV.—Charles intends by driving the Dissenters to extremities, to get a pretence for strengthening his military force.—Delays to begin the Dutch war till he sees the effect of that intention.

Translation.

SIRE, Dover, 6th June, 1670.
THE King of England, the Duke of York, and my Lord Arlington, have received extremely well the compliments that your Majesty ordered me to make them on your part. I found them all well disposed not to lose any time in the execution of the things that have been promised. There is nothing however yet determined for the principal point, and they dont even pretend to fix it till they return to London, and see what may follow from the severity with which the King designs to make the last act of parliament against the meetings of the sectaries be observed; and he hopes that their disobedience will give him the easier means of encreasing the force of his troops, and coming speedily to the end he proposes: he hath approved of your Majesty's reasons for not consenting to M. de Turenne's journey into this country. He seemed also to acquiesce with those which obliged your Majesty to communicate your union against Holland, to the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster;

Munster: but Madame has told me since, that he had again taken time to deliberate on it and give a precise answer. I hope it will be such as your Majesty wishes; my Lord Arlington having this morning told me, that he thought they should not defer placing this confidence in those Princes, on their promising not to communicate the secret to any body.

As to what regards Vanbeuning's negotiation, his Majesty takes a great deal of care to hinder him from doing any thing that might cause a hindrance to what has been concluded, and to dismiss him the earliest that can be, without giving him any satisfaction.

This, Sire, is all I dare do myself the honour of writing to your Majesty upon these affairs by the post.

Madame thinks of leaving this place next Thursday, and I believe a longer stay at Dover would be very troublesome, and do prejudice to the affairs of the King her brother, whose presence seems to be extremely necessary in London.

Charles not having received any of the money stipulated for his conversion, still delayed preparing for the Dutch war, under pretence that he was first to declare his conversion. Colbert having received orders from Louis the XIV. on the 17th September 1670, to urge him on this head, writes the following account of the arguments which he used with King Charles.

Translation.

Relation of what was said to the King of England by the French Ambassador, in the conference of the 28th Sept. 1670.

He presses Charles to begin with the Dutch war before declaring himself a Catholic.

AS there are very near three months gone since the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged, the King my master believes your Majesty will find it proper to take without delay your last resolution upon the contents of it, to the end that you may pursue together some steady measures; for your Majesty sees how much the time presses already, and that to be able to do any thing to purpose against the Dutch, and speedily finish the affair, it will be necessary to enter into action, if it is humanly possible, in the beginning of the next spring; and the more so, as, if it is not done, you will be exposed to the very great inconvenience of not being able to engage in the party a good number of the Princes of the Empire, whom the King my master is clear for engaging now, and your Majesty knows how much their junction, and a considerable diversion on that side, might contribute to the happy and speedy success of the design, and your own infallible safety.

Your Majesty will also, if you please, reflect on the indispensable necessity the King my master is under to make in good time, and even this year, magazines of provisions, and all sorts of warlike stores in the states of the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster; instead of which, if your Majesty does not speedily determine, it will be much more easy for the Dutch, upon taking the alarm more strongly than they have as yet done, to detach those Princes from the engagement you wish them to enter into, by throwing large sums of money amongst them, as there is

no doubt the Dutch will with great profusion do, in order to induce them to remain neuter, and even to form on that side also some party for their defence.

It is true, Sire, it appears, according to the terms of the treaty, your Majesty ought first to declare yourself a Catholic, and I may with great truth say, that the King my master ardently wishes for it, as well for the advantage of religion, as for his own proper political interests: but as you judge it proper, and it is also just, nay absolutely necessary, first to obtain from the Pope the conditions that may render your conversion agreeable to your subjects; and as this affair, whatever diligence is used in it, may not perhaps be so soon terminated as the King my Master and your Majesty desire; he begs you will again reflect upon all the reasons which persuade him, that to accomplish more easily and more surely the two principal ends you have proposed, it is necessary the war with Holland should precede, or at least accompany your declaring yourself a Catholic. And upon this I am to inform your Majesty of a particular which the King my master had wrote me of the greatest consequence. You know how important it is for the safety and good success of your design against the Dutch, that the Elector of Brandenburg should be concerned, without which the other Princes would tremble to engage themselves with you. Now on the subject, &c. the same as in the King's letter of the 17th.—Your Majesty may gather from thence one very just consequence how much, &c. idem, till 'such time as the affair breaks out.'

Perhaps your Majesty may be told upon all this, that if before the declaration of religion, you can do nothing which can cause a fear or suspicion in the Dutch that you have entered into alliance with the King my master against them, they will keep themselves entirely quiet, and take no part in the affair, and the rather, that they will not dare to do it from the lively apprehensions which will always

ways remain with them that your Majesty would shew your resentment by uniting yourself with France against them. The King my master has already remarked to your Majesty in his answers, and now orders me to remind you of the little solidity of such hopes. If people reflect, they will see, that if your Majesty desires to proceed with the circumspection necessary in so great an affair, it will be indispensably necessary for you, in order to keep your people to their duty, that before the act of your declaration is made, or at the furthest in making it, you should give them to understand you have made a very strict union with the King my master, by means of which, if you desire it, you can dispose of all the force of France against all your enemies, whether domestic, or foreign: and from thence your Majesty may judge, if the knowledge of this union being in this manner become public, the Dutch will refrain from taking part in the affair through fear of promoting between the two Kings an alliance which they see already quite formed, and without any other remedy with regard to them, than that of endeavouring to excite embarrassments in your Majesty's own states; but the King my master judges that this would not be the only motive for interesting themselves in such an event, for they would recollect that a Catholic King of England strictly bound in friendship and interests with the King my master, and both Princes picqued and offended at their past conduct on account of so many different injuries received from them, would not let them enjoy long so peaceably as they do now the principal advantages of the trade of the whole world; and from thence it cannot be doubted, that the Dutch would stick at no measures to ward off this stroke tending to their ruin, but would throw their treasures by handfuls, and even exhaust if it were necessary their credit, to form, support, and maintain against your Majesty a strong party in your kingdom, which seldom wants discontented and turbulent people,

ple, even though they had a much less subject than the change of the Sovereign's religion would furnish them with, which your Majesty knows is always too plausible a one with the populace; on the contrary, if your Majesty begins by attacking the Dutch jointly with France, the King my master is persuaded that this attack will immediately produce so much confusion and disorder in their provinces, that besides their not being in a condition to trouble England, that part of the kingdom which is the most affectionate to them, not seeing any resource to their affairs, would keep themselves attached to the strongest side, which would be that of your Majesty; instead of which, if you cause the declaration of religion to precede the attack, the Dutch evidently seeing from your Majesty's change of religion, the inevitable evil that must happen to them in the end, would from that instant take all the necessary measures and resolutions to form against you factions and revolts in your kingdom, which they would find not very difficult, for the reasons I have just mentioned. In fine, Sire, what the King my master proposes will occasion no delay in the execution of your design; on the contrary, it will make it entirely sure, and abridge considerably the time for your Majesty's making the declaration; for the King my master is not of opinion, that to accomplish this act you need be obliged to wait the end of the war with Holland, but after you are furnished with the pretences for arming, he thinks the most proper time for your declaration would be in the midst of a successful war, when you could make your subjects feel, that you were on the point of procuring them the great advantage of the principal profits of the trade of the world, of which the Dutch would frustrate them by their power, and their close application to draw all to themselves with an insatiable greediness. The consequence of which would be, that the merchants being satisfied with this commercial reason, all your brave officers

and

and soldiers occupied in the war with Holland, the Presbyterians and sectaries content with the free exercise of religion which you will grant them, and the principal persons of your council engaged in this war by the part you are about to give them in the treaty, and otherwise obliged by the honour and faith they owe you, not only to do their duty, but also to keep all those to it in parliament with whom they have credit, there will not remain the least ground to fear, that your declaration being made in this conjuncture, can excite the smallest troubles in your kingdoms. Your Majesty's penetration, and perfect knowledge of the state of your own kingdom, and that of your neighbours, will suggest to you all the other reasons, which I omit, to avoid being tiresome; and after you have made all the reflection that the importance of the matter merits, your Majesty will please to let me know your ultimate resolutions, to the end I may communicate them to the King my master.

Nº II.

Letters from Monsieur Colbert and the Duke of Buckingham, to the French court, concerning the second secret money treaty with France, concluded in the year 1671, by the protestant ministers of Charles II for the destruction of Holland; with the secret article of that treaty, unknown to his protestant ministers, for the King's popery.

PROBABLY Charles's hesitation arose from his consciousness, that in his secret treaty with France, he was supported by none but his popish ministers: for which reason it appears, from the French dispatches in the Depot, that he carried on the following very extraordinary intrigue to lay the burden of part of the articles of that treaty upon his protestant ministers.

A letter from Colbert to Louis the XIVth, dated 14 July, 1670, bears, that upon the death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, Buckingham propoſed to go to France with an embaffy of condolence, and to try to bring about an alliance between the French and Engliſh courts; that the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Arlington, were pleaſed to hear it; that he, Colbert, had encouraged him to it; that Buckingham had propoſed it to Lauderdale and Aſhley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), that Lauderdale agreed to it, but Aſhley Cooper aſked time to conſider.

On the 28th July, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that King Charles was to ſend Buckingham ambaſſador to France, with a view that Louis the XIVth might gain him to bring about a treaty between the two princes againſt the Dutch, concealing from him the treaty already made; and ſeveral letters bear Charles's permiſſion to the French King to flatter Buckingham with the command of the Engliſh troops which were to be employed againſt the Dutch; that Buckingham had the direction of Aſhley Cooper, who had been raiſed by him; and that the King himſelf could answer for Lauderdale from the perſonal attachment which Lauderdale had to him.

In conſequence of this, Buckingham went Ambaſſador to France.

On the 25th of Auguſt, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth an account of King Charles's joy upon Louis's having gained Buckingham: that Charles ſaid Buckingham had been always a friend both to the Dutch war and to popery, but that he could not keep a ſecret: and that Charles had propoſed there ſhould be what he called *une traité ſimulé*, which ſhould be a repetition of the former one in all things except the article relative to the King's declaring himſelf Roman Catholic; and that

the protestant ministers, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, should be brought to be parties to it.—In the Depot.

On the 8th of September, 1670, Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth.

*Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 8 Sept. 1670.—
King Charles makes a tool of Buckingham in the second
secret treaty.*

Translation.

“THE King of England and my Lord Arlington have told me, that they had written to the Duke of Buckingham that he might return when he pleased, and that upon his return they would endeavour to finish what he had so well begun; and that by proceeding step by step, and doing nothing but in his presence, they would lead him still further.”

Buckingham soon after came over to England; and it appears from Colbert's dispatches that Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashley Cooper, and the Duke of York, were appointed commissioners by King Charles for conducting the treaty with Monf. Colbert. In order to deceive Buckingham still better, and to irritate his keenness by opposition, Lord Arlington and Colbert pretended to throw obstructions in the way of the treaty. On the 29th September Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham was pressing for the treaty, and complained of Lord Arlington's backwardness; and that King Charles had desired the article relating to money for his religion, might be sunk in the *traité simulé*, and the sum due to him on that account thrown into his subsidy for the Dutch war, in order to hide his intention to become Catholic from his Protestant ministers.—In the Depot.

On

On the 2d of October, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham is grown keener and keener, the King having agreed to give him the command of 6000 English troops to be used against Holland; that the new Commissioners are working at the new treaty, not knowing of the old one. The King having given the Commissioners the line, the differences between it and the former treaty are trifling.—In the Depot.

But the impatience of Buckingham is not half so well painted in Colbert's letters, as in the three following letters written in his own hand.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, bound up before the letter from Mr. Colbert of the 13 October, 1670.—Impatient for the secret treaty.

Translation.

IT is very important to the good success of this affair, that it should be concluded before the meeting of parliament; for which reason I most humbly beg your Majesty will send us with the utmost dispatch your final resolutions upon every article of this treaty, to the end that we may endeavour to be in a capacity of serving you in the beginning of the spring. Vanbuning since my return has offered me a very considerable sum to change sides, though he did not find his account in it; but I apprehend he may with others, if the affair is drawn into length; and for this reason I am in a furious pain till it be finished. For the love of God, Sire, believe that no man in the world can be attached with greater passion, respect and acknowledgment, than I shall be to your Majesty all my life.—In the Depot.

Translation.

*Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the French King;
Nov. 19, 1670.—More and more impatient for the
treaty.—A mean flattering letter.*

S I R E,

I SHOULD be in despair if your Majesty could doubt my zeal and fidelity: I owe you every thing through gratitude, but I am still more attached to your service by your personal qualities, which render you as much more estimable and above the rest of mankind, as you are by your rank. It is these that for ever oblige me to be more devoted to your Majesty than to every thing else in the world, and will always make me declare my thoughts plainly to you without reserve, being certain that as I shall always submit myself to your judgment, you will not think ill of me for the ardour I shall always have for every thing that regards you: in short, Sire, I cannot hinder myself any longer from telling your Majesty that nothing ever troubled my mind so much, as the conduct of this treaty since our return from Newmarket. The King my master agreed there in every thing with your Majesty; there was nothing wanting but to draw the articles up which we ought to have signed in two days, and which, I am assured, might have been written in less than one. My Lord Arlington should have finished them in concert with the Ambassador, but since then we have had nothing but delays. The first stumbling-block was the islands of Goree and Worne, which the Ambassador has since agreed to; but that should not have retarded the affair, for the King my master was resolved to sign the treaty, leaving a blank place for the said islands, upon the assurances I gave him of your Majesty's affection, and that without doubt you would insert them yourself,

self, after the reasons that might be given you for it. I immediately told the Ambassador of it, believing on my part that I had done wonders; but the next day, instead of concluding, we had another dispute about the preamble, and the article relating to the Prince of Orange. The King my master consented directly to every thing he asked; but this availed us nothing, for the Ambassador always found new difficulties, and refused to sign till the return of his messenger. At present we are disputing about one of the two millions of livres that is to be paid on signing the treaty. During this delay, it was often foretold to the King my master, that he would very soon have an infallible mark of your Majesty's intentions, for if you had changed your sentiments, you would hesitate upon the payment of these two millions. This prediction fulfilled so soon, together with what followed, served to confirm me in a suspicion, which for some time has given me a great deal of uneasiness; and I no longer doubt but the two persons who ought to have prepared every thing for the conclusion of the treaty have agreed to break it off; and that whilst one fills the King my master's head with scruples, the other does as much to your Majesty; if I am mistaken, excuse a weakness that is a fault of my nature. I cannot be indifferent in the cause of those whom I honour. I consider this affair as the only one that can aggrandize your Majesty's renown. If we enter here into the alliances which are every day offered us with eagerness, your Majesty will lose the finest occasion in the world to exert those talents God has given you, and which are capable of making you at least equal to all those who have preceded you in history.

Sire, I speak as I think. If I do wrong, pardon me. Your Majesty, if you please, may remember that from the moment I knew you, my heart was so filled with admiration,

miration, that it will be impossible for me ever to have an attachment to any other thing, or to be at rest till I find some occasion to render you service, and to shew your Majesty to what a degree I am accountable to you for all the obligations that I have received in so many different ways. I am, from the bottom of my heart,

S I R E, your Majesty's, &c:

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM,

I most humbly beg your Majesty to spare me a little for the freedom of this letter.—In the Depot.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Monsf. de Lyonne, 19th November, 1670.—To the same purpose.—Insinuations against Lord Arlington.

S I R,

SINCE the letter you did me the honour to send me, I have been very ill, which is the reason I have not written to you sooner; at present I find myself obliged to send you this messenger, our affair being on the point to be broken off through the slowness of the Ambassador. I will never believe that you have changed sentiments on the other side of the water; for which reason I throw the fault entirely upon your man here, and one of ours, whose domestic alliances do not seem quite to agree with those we have endeavoured to accomplish for the public. It is now a month since every thing was agreed upon, and nothing wanted but a sheet of paper to be written, which my Lord Arlington and the Ambassador should have adjusted together; yet we are now farther from coming to a conclusion than ever. Whatever reasons you may have to defer the declaration of war, what can
you

you have for not immediately signing the treaty? Every day here creates a thousand obstacles; the parliament is on the point of making some declarations that will spoil all we may hereafter do, and in the mean time, being uncertain of what you are resolved upon, we dare not take the only means capable to prevent them. For the love of God, if you have still the intention to do any thing with us, conclude it speedily, and know that I cannot render a more considerable service to the King of France, than in putting him on his guard in good time. In short, there are certain people here very much altered within this little while. I don't know from whence it comes, but I suspect very much that the offers of money have not been every where so badly received as by,

SIR, yours, &c.

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I should not wish that every one saw this letter.—In the Depot.

From Colbert's dispatches it appears, that the articles of the new treaty, or what is called in those dispatches the *traité simulé*, was signed by King Charles on the 2d of February 1671, and by the new commissioners on the 3d of June thereafter. I did not find a formal copy of the treaty in the volumes, but the letters show that the articles agreed upon were the same with those of the former treaty in all things, except that the money given for the King's Popery was thrown into the first year's subsidy for the Dutch war, and Charles was to get a million of livres in hand; and that in the division of Holland, England was to have an addition of the islands of Worne and Goree. From all the dispatches I saw, there is not the least

least reason to believe that the Protestant Commissioners knew any thing of the former treaty made by the Popish ones.

When the new treaty was near finished, the French court insisted to have a secret article, declaring that nothing in it should derogate from the article of the former treaty relative to the King's Popery. The dispatches show that Charles struggled hard to avoid it, but at last consented. The secret article offered by Charles, and afterwards accepted by France, with Monsieur Colbert's letter relative to it, run as follows :

Translation.

Draught of the instrument offered by the King of England, Charles, &c. bound up before Mr. Colbert's letter to the King, of the 3d November, 1670.—Second treaty not to derogate from first as to King's Popery.

AS by the treaty signed at Dover the
and ratified it is agreed, that we shall receive two millions of livres tournois, to assist us in declaring ourself a Catholic, and three millions each year for the expence of a war against Holland ; and as we have stipulated by a treaty signed this day, that the most Christian King shall give us five millions of livres for the first year's expences of a war against Holland ; we declare by these presents, that in the five millions mentioned in this last treaty for the Dutch war, are comprehended also the two millions which are mentioned in the first treaty for our declaring ourself Catholic ; and we declare besides, and promise, that having received the said two first millions, we will give an acquittance as relative to the article

ticle of our being Catholic; and further, that it is our intention there be nothing in this treaty that may change the articles and clauses contained in the said treaty of Dover, but rather confirm and corroborate them. In faith of which, &c.—In the Depot.

Translation.

Secret article of the second treaty confirming the first treaty.

NEVERTHELESS I thought myself obliged to dispatch this courier to deliver to your Majesty the King of England's ratification of the treaty, and of the secret articles, with his declaration (which I have put in a secret packet), bearing a confirmation of the treaty of Dover.

N^o III.

While the secret treaty was going on, the young Prince of Orange had come upon a visit to see his uncles in England.

Colbert, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, of date 23d October, 1670, says, that Charles had proposed to him to detain the Prince of Orange in England, and to tempt him with the sovereignty of Holland; but that he, Colbert, had demurred to the proposal.—In the Depot.

A letter from Colbert to Louis of 13th Nov. 1670, shews, that the French court approved of his conduct in not consenting to King Charles's proposal about the Prince of Orange.—In the Depot.

Those who reflect that they owe their present liberty and religion to King William, will read with pleasure

the following character which King Charles gave Colbert of him at this visit.

*Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 4th Dec. 1670.
—Charles's character of the young Prince of Orange.*

Translation.

THE King of England is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of his trusting him with any part of the secret, those two reasons would have hindered him.

The treaty being finished, there appear in the dispatches the first strokes of that arbitrary disposition, and contempt of parliaments, in the Duke of York, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. For after the treaty, a dispute having arisen in King Charles's councils, whether to assemble parliament in order to get money, in which Buckingham was much against it, Monsieur Colbert represents the Duke of York's sentiments in the following words :

*Part of Mons. Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, July 14, 1671.—The Duke of York's aversion to Parliaments.
—His arbitrary views.*

Translation.

I FOUND the Duke of York in the same sentiments with the Duke of Buckingham with regard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me of himself, without

without my entering upon the subject, that if his advice was followed, they would be very cautious of assembling it; adding, in confidence, that affairs are at present here in such a situation as to make him believe that a King and a parliament can exist no longer together: That nothing should be any longer thought of than to make war upon Holland, as the only means left without having recourse to parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourse till the war and the Catholic faith had come to an happy issue, and when they should be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildness.

In this correspondence, the first strokes of Lord Sunderland's character are also to be seen. From Colbert's letter to Monsieur de Lyonne of 24th Dec. 1671, it appears, that Lord Sunderland was sent Ambassador to Spain to persuade the Spanish court to join in the war against Holland. From a previous letter from Colbert to Louis of 30th Nov. that year, it appears, that he had instructions to take France in his way. This last letter contains these words:

Part of a letter from Monsf. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 30th Nov. 1671.—Character of Lord Sunderland.

Translation.

THEY assured me that the Earl of Sunderland should without fail depart to-morrow to wait upon your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family, has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning, is also extremely well intentioned, and has besides a great disposition to make himself a Roman Catholic.—In the Depot.

Both of the above treaties were helped on by money from France given to the King's ministers, and for the most part with his knowledge.

On the 25th August, 1670, Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that he had offered a pension of 10,000 crowns to Lord Arlington, whose answer was, that he could neither take or refuse it now, but that in case of necessity he would ask the protection of Louis.—In the Depot.

On the 28th August, 1670, Colbert writes *Monf. de Lyonne*, that Lord Arlington had proposed the French court should give a pension to Lady Shrewsbury, in order to fix Buckingham the better.—In the Depot.

On the 2d October, 1670, Colbert writes, that Buckingham had told him the Spaniards had offered him 200,000*l.* to bring King Charles to their side. Colbert adds: "I do not believe any thing of it; but I am afraid that the appetite of these new Commissioners is great."—In the Depot.

On the 16th October and 3d November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he had given the presents to the Commissioners of the first treaty, and that King Charles had ordered them to take them. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was.

On the 1st Jan. 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given Lady Shrewsbury 10,000 livres.—In the Depot.

On the 2d April, 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given a present to Lauderdale, that he is soon to do the same to Buckingham and Ashley Cooper, and that King Charles knew it. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was.—In the Depot.

On the 9th November, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Shrewsbury on receiving her French pension said, she would make Buckingham comply with King Charles's in all things.—In the Depot.

On the 3d December, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Arlington had in her husband's presence offered to accept of the present intended for her husband. He adds,—“ The husband reproached her, but very obliquely.”—In the Depot.

On the 11th April, 1672, Colbert writes to Louis in these words: “ My Lord Arlington made me a visit on purpose to let me know how much he is penetrated with the marks of esteem and distinction which your Majesty has given by the magnificent present which your Majesty has made to Lady Arlington.” And then proceeds to repeat the strong professions of Lord Arlington to France.—In the Depot.

The dispatches show that Charles received great sums from France during the Dutch war, and that he made no complaints of breach of treaty on that head; but the extent of them does not appear.

While King Charles was projecting or forming these secret treaties with France, he withdrew all his confidence from his old Tory Ministers, pretended to make a favourite of Buckingham, and put the direction of Ireland into the hands of Lord Roberts; of Scotland into those of Lord Lauderdale; and of England into those of Lord Ashley Cooper; all of whom had drawn their swords against his father. These things he probably did to engage their services in the success of his connexion with France, or to expose men whom he disliked if it should
prove

prove unsuccessful. The contempt he had for the profligacy of Buckingham is notorious. His dislike of Shaftesbury made him blind even to his talents, for Colbert, in a letter of July 1763, says, Charles told him that "the Chancellor was the weakest and wickedest of all men." In one of Mons. Barillon's letters at an after-period, to wit, in 1681, Barillon writes, that when Shaftesbury, at the end of the Dutch war, was advising Charles to quit the French and make a Spanish alliance, Charles asked him how much the Spaniards had given him? He answered, Nothing at all; then, said the King, you owe them nothing, for they offered Arlington 40,000*l*.

The following letter from Charles to his sister, in the Depot, shews that his removal of the Duke of Ormond from the command of Ireland, did not arise from displeasure.

Part of a letter from Charles the II^d to the Dutcheß of Orleans, 7th March, 1669.—His removal of the Duke of Ormond arises not from displeasure.

"I SEE you are misinformed if you think I trust my Lord of Ormond less than I did; there are other considerations which make me send my Lord Roberts into Ireland which are too long for a letter. I have dispatched this night n. z. m. p. s. c. b. s. w. a. e. f. m. to 103, who is fully instructed as you can wish: you will see by him the reason why I desired to write to nobody here of the business of ^{France} 271, but to myself."

After Charles had drawn his new Ministers into his second secret treaty with France, he assumed a much higher tone over them than he had before done.

He

He duped Buckingham of his expectations of commanding 6000 English forces against Holland, by prevailing with France not to ask them. Colbert writes on the 4th November, 1671, that on this account Buckingham had refused to go to court when sent for. Ashley Cooper and Lauderdale had shewn some discontents about the same time. Colbert gives the following account of the King's personal behaviour to these three Ministers upon this occasion.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Colbert to the King, 9 Nov. 1671.—Charles's free treatment of Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

THE Duke of Buckingham has at last been to see the King his master, who gave him a pretty long audience, and immediately after, the detail was told to the Duke of York, to my Lord Arlington, and the Treasurer Clifford, from whom I learnt it. His Britannic Majesty having ordered the Duke to tell him the subjects of his chagrin, saying, obligingly, that he wished him so well as to cure him of it, the Duke openly complained of Mr. Mountagu, and indirectly of my Lord Arlington, for all the bad offices they had done him underhand, insinuating, that they had conceived an aversion to him only because he had been the first promoter of a good union between your Majesty and England; and he maintained, that the favour which that Ambassador had asked of your Majesty on the part of the said King, to dispense with his levying and keeping on foot a body of English troops, was against his honour and the good of his service; but the King told him, after having heard him peaceably, that he saw well he had forgot the millions he had been the cause of his losing in the last session

of parliament, and that though the affection he had for him, the Duke, had blotted out this offence, he could not help sensibly feeling the effects of it, which perhaps might have reduced him to the disagreeable impossibility of discharging his obligation, if your Majesty had not been pleased to release him from it. That even supposing Mr. Mountagu had acted from no other motive than hatred to him (the Duke), he could not avoid approving his conduct from the good effects it had produced. That it was folly to imagine he could put in competition the interest the Duke had in commanding a body of troops, with that of the public, which received so great an ease from your Majesty's complaisance. He added, with anger, that on such occasions he considered him no more than his dog; and that even if your Majesty had released him of the naval armament in place of the levying and keeping the troops on foot, he would have had no more regard to the Duke of York's desire of commanding the fleet: that as for the rest, he wished that all those who had signed the treaty would live in good harmony, and unanimously concur in facilitating the execution of it; and that if any division amongst them should happen which might hurt this affair, he should know very well who were guilty, and entirely banish them from his confidence, and admit others who deserved it better. They told me that he spoke in the same stile to my Lord Lauderdale and to my Lord Ashley, who appear to me in effect a little mortified, and I believe this reprimand will not hurt your Majesty's service, the more so as my Lord Arlington, who has the largest share in the esteem and affection of his master, shews more warmth and forwardness than ever in advancing your Majesty's satisfaction jointly with that of the King of England.—In the Depot.

This bold language had its effect with Buckingham at least. Colbert writes on the 15th February, 1672, that a Latin copy of the second treaty was that day signed; that Buckingham upon that occasion said, that another would get the honour of his work, that he had missed the object of his ambition, which was the command of the troops; adding, "*sic vos non vobis vellera fertis*" "*oves:*" and then reluctantly put his name to the paper:—In the Depot.

A Prince whose politics are crooked makes those of his Ministers crooked too. The cabal became sensible of the danger they were exposed to by these treaties with France, and therefore attempted to lessen that danger by sharing it with the King's former friends.

Colbert writes on the 3d June, 1671, that the cabal had proposed to make an attempt to bring Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormond to consent to a treaty with France against Holland; that the treaty just concluded should be concealed from them, and a new one on the very same terms framed in conjunction with them; but that he, Colbert, had refused to give his consent to the project.

It is very probable that the dangers which the cabal were thus brought into, engaged them for their own safeties in the bold courses which they took in the beginning of the second Dutch war.

Colbert, on the 11th April, 1672, writes thus of the cabal:—"They see that all their safety lies in strengthening the authority of the King their master."—In the Depot.

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the manuscript which Doctor North was so good as to show me, writes thus :

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuscript.—Bold courses of Clifford and Shaftesbury.

“THE Lord Clifford and the Earl of Shaftesbury were each of them upon very bold projects, and did not regard a good report: they thought, by the help of the parties they comprehended and took into favour, to be too strong for all opposers.”

When the House of Commons pressed Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence, Arlington alone hesitated, the rest of the cabal stood firm. Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 9th March, 1673.

Translation.

“The Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, are of opinion to maintain this declaration of the King their master, in favour of the Nonconformists; and that if the parliament persist in their remonstrances, as it is not doubted they will, to dissolve it and call another; they do not even want good reasons to support their opinion. My Lord Arlington, who at present is single in his sentiments, says, that the King his master ought not to do it.”—In the Depot.

A Prince who betrays, and consents to the corruption of his own Ministers, must expect to be betrayed by them. The cabal, and all their schemes, burst like a bubble at the first sight of the terrors of an English parliament hung out to them.

Lord

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, writes thus :

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—Shaftesbury's sudden change of conduct.

“WHEN Shaftesbury found he was to be questioned first, and for what he had said and done, he fell to his old courses, by which he used to save himself in former changes ; and dealt underhand with the party that opposed the court ; and recanted publicly and suddenly, by disapproving the declaration, and thereby saved himself with them, who thought it would be of more service to have the King's councils betrayed, than to make the Earl of Shaftesbury an example.”

Colbert writes, 20th November, 1673, that Arlington had turned entirely to the Dutch party ; that he contrived the Test act, knowing that Clifford would not take it ; and that to make his peace he disclosed the secret of the first secret treaty to Ormond and Shaftesbury.—In the Depot.

If this last fact be true, it is a strong instance of the honour of English party : for Lord Ormond carried with him to the grave his loyalty and his secret ; and Shaftesbury, though little troubled with scruples, never made use of it against Lord Arundel, even whilst he persecuted him.

This was not all : Charles, by these crooked politics, lost all the fruits of the popularity of the earlier part of his reign. The effects of that popularity might have been great to the power of the crown, when even the friends of the crown suspected the weight of it. Lord

Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, speaking of the earlier period of Charles's reign, writes thus :

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—Old gentry jealous of the weight of the King's popularity in the beginning of his reign.

“THE gentry were so secure in their own opinion, that they were considering rather that the parliament would invest too much power in the King, than that there was any danger of the old rebels, and therefore many of them began to draw the other way, desiring the crown should depend on the good will of the people, and thought themselves politic in keeping the balance as even as they could. One would think they that had felt the miseries of anarchy should never have feared a King.”

The publication of the Duke's popery, about the same time, lost the King even the Dissenters, whom he meant to have gained by his declaration of indulgence. Lord Guildford, in Dr. North's manuscript, writes thus :

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript.—Charles loses the Dissenters.

“IT is certain that from this time the credit of the government was quite broke, and that party who had persuaded to the indulgence, and taken licences to a vast number (which they did to make the King believe their numbers were very formidable), cried out against it, as not intended out of kindness to them, but only to the Papists; that they desired indulgence, but not at the price of all the laws; they had much rather have it in a parliamentary way; and in the next parliament they joined

joined with many of the country gentlemen, that were no friends to them, to oppose the declaration, so as they might have an act of comprehension; wherein the others promised all their endeavours."

Upon the promotion of Lord Danby on the ruins of the cabal, the project of that minister to buy off the resentment of the House of Commons, by giving money to the members, only added, on account of its novelty, to the unpopularity of government. On this head Lord Guildford, in his manuscript, speaks thus:

"I observed this good humour began to decay upon the taking off enemies by preferring them; and those friends that were low in the world, or had mercenary natures, had money given them; so that ambitious men expected to be sought to and caressed, because they were able to trouble the King's affairs; and the honest, plain (but not discerning) country gentleman believed every vote that was given for the court was the effect of a pension, and would not join, lest he should be thought to do it, because he had some hopes of a reward."

It has commonly been believed that the French played false to England, in carrying the Dutch war upon the side of Maestricht, instead of making war near the sea coasts, in order to have enabled England to subdue Zealand. But the following extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript shows this to be a mistake:

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript.—The French acted fair to England in the second Dutch war.

“ I HAD then the curiosity thereupon to be satisfied, concerning foul play supposed to be done by the French in making war about Maestricht, when it was supposed, if they had advanced towards the sea coasts, Zealand would have yielded to have been subject to the King of England rather than to the French. I was told (by the Duke of York), that France did concert the siege of Maestricht with the King, and it was alleged, that to think of a surrender was vain, unless the King could show some force, which, if he could, the French making the seat of the war so far off, would divert the force of the States from the defence of the coasts: and this reason prevailed.”

Charles's declaration of indulgence has been commonly imputed to the intrigues of France with Charles, for the purpose of serving the interest of Popery. But Colbert's dispatches show that France had not the least hand in it, that it was a scheme of Buckingham and Shaftesbury to gain the Dissenters, and that France was the cause of Charles's recalling it.

Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth on the 9th March, 1673, that Madame de la Queruaille had told him, that the remonstrances of parliament about the declaration of indulgence had driven Charles to despair, and that he was to dissolve the parliament, and make a peace with Holland, finding he could do no better.—In the Depot.

Upon this intelligence, Louis the XIVth, whose only object, in his connexion with Charles, seems to have been

the success of the Dutch war, wrote to Charles, and ordered Colbert to intreat him to drop his declaration of indulgence.

On the 20th March, 1673, Colbert writes the following congratulatory letter to Louis the XIVth, on Charles's having given up his declaration of indulgence, in consequence of the interposition of France :

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mons. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 20th March, 1673.—France has prevailed with Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence.—And assures him of troops against his subjects.

S I R E,

NEVER could any counsel be better received, more punctually followed, nor produce better and more immediate effects, than that which your Majesty has given to the King of England. This Prince, who was almost resolved on Thursday in the evening to dissolve his parliament, had hardly heard on Friday morning the reasons which I represented to him on your part, to prevail with him to submit himself to the necessity of satisfying his people upon the affair of the declaration, and to remove from the bad intentioned the too plausible pretence of religion, than he assured me that your Majesty's sentiments had always more power over him than all the reasonings of his most faithful ministers : that he was so sensibly touched with the marks of the sincere friendship you had on this occasion given him, and the offers which I made him on your Majesty's part, to extend the succours, after the peace was made, beyond what you was obliged to by the treaty : that, to testify the better his
acknow-

acknowledgments to you; he would grant, without any farther deliberation, what his subjects so pressingly asked of him. The next day in the morning, he went to the House of Lords in his robes, sent for the Commons, and spoke in the terms your Majesty will see by the copy of his speech, which was followed with cries and acclamations of joy from the whole parliament; and as soon as the House of Lords broke up, the Commons went immediately upon the act of supply they had promised him; so that it is to be hoped this affair will be finished to-morrow, or the day after, to the King's entire satisfaction. The whole people, who were already greatly alarmed with the apprehension of a civil war, made bonfires in every street upon this happy reconciliation of the King and parliament; even the bitterness which the House of Commons had manifested against the Catholics, is a little softened by the general consent the King has given to every act they think proper to make for the security of the Protestant religion: and as he made no secret of the mild and moderate counsels which your Majesty gave him, some members of parliament told me, that the whole body felt themselves obliged to your Majesty for this accommodation; so that affairs here are now in the best condition you can desire for the advantage of your own; and the King has assured me, that he will have this year as powerful a fleet as he had the last.

I did not think it was for your Majesty's service to follow the measures you prescribed to me, with regard to the offer of the troops which you were willing to assist the King with, for the execution of his designs after the peace; for as he is persuaded, as well as his Ministers, that nothing is so capable of causing a general revolt in the nation, as to shew them that he can support his authority by foreign forces, he has often given me to under-
derstand

derstand; and my lord Arlington has done so also, that he would not make use of the succour with which your Majesty is obliged to furnish him, except in extreme necessity: thus I thought it better only to assure him in general, that your Majesty would not limit yourself to the terms of the treaty, but that, agreeable to the sentiments of your affection, after the war was ended, you would not only send over the six thousand men that were promised, but as many more as he should stand in need of. I have reason to believe they will make no demand too chargeable to your Majesty upon this head.—In the Depot.

It appears from a variety of dispatches in the Depot, that while Charles listened to terms of peace with the Dutch in autumn of the year 1673, he asked a million of livres extraordinary from France for the support of his fleet, but got a refusal; that the Duke of York opposed the peace strongly; that in the end of the year the French sent over Monsieur de Rouvigny to tempt the King with an anticipation of the payment of his subsidy; that he pleaded the necessity of his affairs at home as an apology to France for quitting the war, but promised, in the capacity of a mediator, to assist her.

It is not impossible that, for the reasons given in the "Review of the events of the reign of Charles," Charles's original intention was to prolong the war between France and Holland, under the pretence of being the mediator of peace, partly to get money to himself from both sides, and partly to give England an opportunity in the mean time to run away with the trade of the world.

world. Charles, in a discourse with Courtin, the French Ambassador, once let the last of these consequences drop from him. Courtin writes to Louis, 21st June, 1677, that Charles said to him,—“That at the bottom England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and enriched herself, while all the neighbouring states were drained or ruined by the war; and that the English would one day thank him for having kept them by his prudence in so happy a state, and so advantageous for their commerce.”—In the Depot.

But if these were Charles's views, those of the Duke of York, who was less politic, were different. He was very sincere in desiring to procure a peace for France soon after England had withdrawn from the war.

On this head there are two letters from him to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Letter Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to peace with France.

Whithall, Oct. 23, 1674.

DEARE Nephew, I would not lett this bearer M. de Reede, returne back to you without writing to you by him, to assure you, I am very glad that you have made so good an end of the campagne, after all the hardships you have endured, and dangers you have exposed yourself to; and now that you have freed your country of so ill a neighbourhood as that of Grave was, and by it put all the provinces at ease, and got so much reputation as you have, that you will turn your thoughts to the making a good and honourable peace, which I am sure is for all our interests; I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon the subject, so that I shall say no more to you of it now, but refer you to him.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

St. James's, Jan. 12, 1675.

I SHALL make use of this occasion to tell you I received your letter by the Earle of Ossory, and am very glad, both by him and the Lord Chamberlin, to find you are so well inclined to have a peace, which I am fully perswaded is both for your interest in particular, as well as for the repose of Christendome, and good of our family in generall.

In February, 1673, Charles informed the parliament of his peace with Holland, and soon after prorogued it till the 10th of November, 1674. Even at this early period the Duke of York had a prescience of the exclusion; for Colbert writes on the 10th August, 1673, that the Duke of York told him he was afraid of it. Louis was at the same time afraid, that if the parliament met in November it might force Charles into a war with him, and that the forces might be ready the ensuing spring. In the Depot there are two letters in August, 1674, from Mons. Rouvigny, Ambassador in England, to his court; the first of which bears, that the Duke of York told him that a clergyman had advised him to ask 400,000*l.* for his brother to prorogue the parliament, and that the Duke of York had desired Rouvigny to mention this to Louis; and the other, that the Duke had come down to 300,000 pistoles. These proposals tally very well with the beginning of Coleman's correspondence: Vide that correspondence. This gave an opening for France to renew her secret money transactions with Charles.

N^o IV.

Letters of Rouvigny and Courtin concerning four secret money treaties with France.

ROUVIGNY writes, 2d Sept. 1674, that Charles had agreed either to prorogue his parliament till April 1675, in consideration of 500,000 crowns, or if he convened it in November, to dissolve it in case it should refuse to give him money, in consideration of which he was to have a pension of 100,000 *l.* from France. Charles afterwards chose the first of these alternatives, got his money, and France was enabled to carry on the war a year without any fear of an English parliament.—In the Depot.

This bargain paved the way to a formal treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, but executed in a very extraordinary manner between the two Princes, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent, and Charles obliged himself to prorogue or dissolve his parliament if it should endeavour to force such treaties upon him. The consideration for this treaty was a pension from France. I could not discover, from the dispatches, what the amount of it was, but found several payments made to Charles in consequence of it. The treaty was known to none but the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, and lord Danby.

The first of Rouvigny's letters in the Depot, which discloses the King of England's wishes for a treaty at this time, is in the following words :

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Rouvigny to the King, 9th January, 1676.—Charles proposes a new secret treaty with France.

“ **A**FTERWARDS the Duke of York and Lauderdale supported his (that is Charles’s) reasons so strongly, that the high Treasurer gave way to them, so that it was agreed in this council to engage directly with your Majesty if it was agreeable. The King of England informed me of it the same day, and pressed me much to go to France to carry the news of it to your Majesty, as he could not consent that a secret, which in his opinion could not be too much hid, should be trusted to paper, or to any person but myself. This obliged me to let your Majesty know eight days ago that I should soon depart without permission; *but having more affection than strength*, I have been obliged to stop, and write by my secretary. What the King of England charged me to make known to your Majesty is, that he desires passionately to unite himself strictly with you; that without waiting till it can be done by a solemn treaty, it may be begun at present, in secret, by reciprocal promises in writing, which should bind him, as well as your Majesty, not to make any treaty with any state whatever without the consent of the other; or to give any assistance to the enemies or rebellious subjects of either: that if your Majesty approves this project, you will send it by my secretary with a power to sign it. This Prince also said to me, that he had two reasons which made it necessary for him to desire passionately that your interest should not hinder you from consenting to exchange the places which hold Ghent and Brussels invested. These are the peace and his people: that the States General will

will not make a peace as long as the towns in Flanders, which belong to the King of Spain, are separated as they are by those which are under your Majesty's obedience, and are no more than frontiers: that as long as that province continues in its present state, all England will be always persuaded that your Majesty can easily make a conquest of it whenever you please; and that nothing but this exchange can disabuse his people in the opinion they have long formed on that head: that he very well knows your Majesty does not want good reasons for not doing it; but he also believes you will consent to an exchange, without which there will be no general peace, nor quiet in England till he has contented his people, all of whom are fully persuaded that he abandons their interest, through an excess of affection for France: that this opinion raises all his subjects against him: that there are but two ways of bringing him out of so troublesome an embarrassment, and putting him in a condition to please his people: the first, that they may know that he has solicited, and obtained of your Majesty, the exchange which will give peace, and the other, that to render it stable, he has entered into a treaty of guarantee with the Dutch for the preservation of Flanders and the safety of England. This Prince continued to say that he would inform me before hand of all he should be obliged to do, in order that his designs might be fully known to you, and that you might not hereafter have any suspicion of his conduct, nor of the unalterable affection which he will have all his life for your Majesty's interests. These, Sire, are the things this Prince said to me, and which I write in his presence and closet."—In the Depot.

The other conditions of this treaty, as stated above, having been afterwards in the course of it proposed and agreed

agreed to, it was executed in a mode that shows the miserable state to which an English Prince may be reduced, who thinks it is possible for him to have an interest of his own separate from that of his people.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mons. Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, 27 Feb. 1676.—Charles's ministers afraid to be parties to the new money treaty with France.—Charles writes it himself.

SIRE,

“ I ACQUAINTED Mons. de Pomponne by the letter I sent him the 17th of this month that the King of England having convened the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and the high Treasurer, to confer with them upon the paper which your Majesty knows of, this last minister asked time to examine it before he gave his opinion upon it. Business, or other reasons have prevented him from doing it these ten days. In fine, the Treasurer has been to see the Duke of Lauderdale, to whom he has represented the risk they should run of losing their heads if they alone were to deliberate upon the treaty, and to sign it. The King of England being informed of this, sent for them and the Duke of York into his closet, where it being proposed to admit into this council the high Chancellor and all the other ministers, he told them, that he desired nothing in the world more passionately than a good alliance with your Majesty; that being mediator, the conjuncture of the time did not allow him to let people have the least knowledge of his having concluded and signed a treaty with France; that the thing could not fail of being made public if brought before the council, or if he was obliged to make use of

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his great seal : that to keep it an entire secret, he did not desire his ministers should have any knowledge of it ; that for this reason he would name no commissioners, nor give any powers ; that he had resolved to sign the treaty with his own hand, and seal it with his seal in my presence, as soon as he should have agreed upon the articles with me ; that he did not doubt your Majesty would do the same, and that if you would assure him by a billet wrote with your own hand, that you had signed the treaty and affixed your seal to it, he would receive it with greater confidence than if one of his ministers had been witness to it ; that these three had only to examine in his presence the project which I had put into his hands twenty days ago, and give him their thoughts upon it. This, Sire, is the result of this council, which the Duke of Lauderdale came to inform me of at my house by order of the King his master.

The King of England told me, that as he could not trust an affair of this importance to his Secretaries of State (Coventry and Williamson), he had resolved for the greater secrecy to copy himself the instrument which I had given him, and to sign it in my presence : this he did yesterday morning ; after which he lighted a wax candle himself, and affixed his seal to his signature, at the same time saying that it was only a seal with his cypher, for that a little while since he had lost the seal with his arms, which were engraved on a diamond of King James his grandfather, and which when the deceased King was upon the scaffold he gave to the Bishop of London to be delivered into his hands : he afterwards called for the Duke of Lauderdale, who is the only one in whom on this occasion he has put an entire confidence, and told him, that being pressed to go to Windsor, he had charged him with my paper, which he had copied himself

himself word for word, and that he ordered him to see me sign it, and to oblige me by a writing, in virtue of the full power your Majesty was pleased to send me, that in twenty days or sooner, if it could be done, I would transmit him a similar treaty signed with your own hand, and sealed with your privy seal, and expressly enjoined him to take care to give him my writing at his return from Windsor. I dispatch, Sire, my Secretary, for greater precaution, to carry to your Majesty the treaty which the King of England hath wrote, signed, and sealed before me, and to bring me back, if your Majesty thinks proper, that which you will sign and seal with your privy seal, together with the billet wrote with your hand as I have before mentioned.

Sire, your Majesty may well see by all that has passed in this affair, that the King of England is in a manner abandoned by his ministers, even the most confidential; that the Treasurer, who fears the parliament much more than his master, and who is very opposite to the interests of France, thereby endeavouring to acquire the people's favour, has formed all the difficulties which I mentioned, with a design to hinder the treaty being concluded, or at least to retard it. The Duke of Lauderdale has supported his master, having without comparison more zeal and respect than his colleagues. The Duke of York, who is entirely in your Majesty's interest, hath hardly troubled himself with these difficulties, because he saw the King his brother was firm enough not to stand in need of his advice.

From all these circumstances, your Majesty will judge better of the state of England, than from all I have represented in my letters: and it will be difficult to conceive, that a King should be so abandoned by his subjects that even amongst his ministers he cannot find one in whom he can place an entire confidence. This ex-

ample will plainly shew your Majesty that all England is against your interests, and that there is only the King of England and the Duke of York who embrace them with affection; and from thence your Majesty will see that this treaty is necessary for the security of your service, since it assures you that England will not be against you. It is true, Sire, that you will not reap all the assistance that might have been expected from a good alliance, but your enemies will have still less than your Majesty; and besides, there is great reason to believe that the King of England, without this new tie which engages him more than ever in your interests, might have been drawn into his people's sentiments. It will confirm his steadiness so much, that his subjects, who have been surprised at it hitherto, may be so much astonished for the future, as perhaps to conform to their master's intentions. The foundations are laid to work upon a design, which will be useful to England and France, in case it succeeds, and if it does not, your Majesty's affairs in this kingdom will not be the worse. In the mean time, God grant peace to Christendom. The parliaments are to be feared, and it is a kind of miracle to see a King without arms and money resist them so long."—In the Depot.

The same year in which this private treaty was made, the Dutch and Spaniards endeavoured to form a treaty with England for the protection of the Netherlands: Charles communicated this to Courtin, the French Ambassador, who upon that occasion wrote thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 21st Sept. 1676:—"He (Charles) said that he knew very well the engagement he was under not to treat with the States General, nor with any Prince without your participation and your consent.—That he engaged

engaged his faith and honour to communicate to me all the articles of the treaty, and never to sign any thing your Majesty did not consent to.”—In the Depot.

Upon the peace between England and Holland, the Prince of Orange pressed Charles to withdraw the English troops which were in the pay of France. From Rouvigny's dispatches in the Depot, it appears that Charles often expressed, in very strong terms, that he thought his own conduct ignominious in deserting France in the war: and with regard to recalling these troops, Rouvigny writes, 19 February, 1674:—“ And with regard to the English troops in France, he told me more positively than his minister had done, that he would not recall them, whatever instance should be made to him, either by the Spaniards or Dutch, or even by the parliament.” He was as good as his word, for he afterwards rejected the advice of his parliament upon that head.

It is known that Charles afterwards promised the Prince of Orange not to permit these troops to be recruited; they however always were recruited, and the dispatches in the Depot show that Charles assured France it always should be so.

The general train of the French dispatches in the Depot, during the negotiations at Nimeguen, shows, that while Charles was acting as mediator of the peace, he gave France intelligence of the views of her enemies, and acted in concert with her. Sir William Temple's printed letters show that the unfortunate success of the campaign of the year 1676, had made the Dutch, and

even the Prince, anxious for a peace; and that the Prince gave Sir William leave to let his master know it. Upon this occasion Courtin, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, 5th November, 1676, writes thus:—"He took me into a closet, where, after having shut the door, I have, said he, good news to tell you, which is, that I believe I have at this instant the peace in my own hands. He charged me to conjure your Majesty, instantly, to let him know your intentions, to the end that upon this knowledge he may regulate himself to make a proposal."—In the Depot.

It appears from many of the dispatches, that the French court prevented the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Lady Mary, in the year 1674; that upon this occasion the King and Duke expressed strongly their dislike of the Prince of Orange; and that the Duke of York flattered himself with the prospect of marrying her to the Dauphin of France,

The 500,000 crowns above mentioned, which Louis secretly gave Charles in the year 1674, to prorogue his parliament till April, 1675, saved France from the possibility of an English armament in the campaign of the year 1675; and the abovementioned secret pension given in the beginning of the year 1676, made him secure of Charles's baffling the attempts of his parliament to engage him in a war with France in the campaign of the year 1676: but in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament and of the nation having increased for a war with France, the French redoubled their

their attentions to Charles, the particulars of which follow.

The session, 1677, was opened with Charles's becoming the instrument of bribing his own subjects, with French money, to prevent a French war. Courtin writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 14th February, 1677:—"I received the bill of exchange, for 11,000*l.* sterling, on the October quarter: it came very apropos, for the King of England wanted money to gain those who are accustomed to make a noise only in order to be the better bought."

On the 1st April, 1677, he writes thus again:—"To my knowledge, he (Charles) has distributed all the money he received from my hands, to gain the votes he stood in need of: he has so well served the King to this hour, that he deserves to be assisted in his necessities, and it will be very important to take care to keep him in the good disposition in which I left him yesterday evening."

Courtin assigns this very extraordinary reason for urging his court to send money to Charles to be distributed among the members of parliament, to wit, that Spain and the Emperor were sending money to be distributed among them on the other side. On the 13th May, 1677, he writes thus to his court:—"It is even very important that your Majesty should send here the first payment of the subsidy. Mr. Bergick and the Emperor's envoy will have two hundred and fifty thousand livres to distribute in the lower House. They will do more with this than could be done on your Majesty's part with two millions." On the 20th May, 1677, he writes to his court thus:—"Mr. Bergick has not received 50,000 crowns, and the Emperor's Envoy 10,000 pistoles, but with this design."

On

On the 22d February, 1677, Courtin advises his court to offer 400,000 crowns extraordinary to Charles to prorogue or dissolve his parliament.

On the 21st April, 1677, Courtin's dispatch bears, that he had got a power to make this offer. What consequence this had does not appear.

But as the session of parliament rose in its heat, the French rose in their offers to Charles. Courtin's letter of June 21, 1677, bears, that he had got a power to go as far as 200,000*l.* to be given to Charles for the ensuing year.

On the 12th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that he had offered Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, together with the assistance of Louis's forces, to maintain Charles's authority. The words with regard to this last offer are these: "His Majesty (that is, Louis) being always ready to employ all his forces for the confirmation and augmentation of his (that is, Charles's) authority, he will always be master of his subjects, and will never depend upon them."

On the 18th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that Charles had insisted for 800,000 crowns, in consideration of which, he offered to prorogue the parliament till the end of April, 1678.

In a subsequent letter he writes that he is disputing about the sum, that Lord Danby always raised it, but the Duke of York brought it down again.

At last, on the 5th of August, it was fixed at two millions of livres. The following dispatch will explain the terms on which this money was secretly given by France:

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Courtin to Louis the XIVth, 5th August, 1677.—Charles has agreed to prorogue his parliament till May, 1678, in consideration of two millions of livres from France.

“MY Lord Treasurer and I have had great contests these three days; he did every thing to persuade the King his master that he could not subsist this year unless your Majesty gave him eight hundred thousand crowns. He even said, in my presence, that your Majesty hazarded nothing but money, whereas the King of England hazarded his crown, by opposing, as he did, the universal desire of his subjects. I remained firm in not exhausting the power your Majesty was pleased to give me. In fine, after many conferences, I have agreed upon all things in such a way as makes me hope your Majesty will not disavow me. The King of England has given me a positive assurance that he will adjourn his parliament from the 13th of December to the end of April, that is, to the 9th or 10th of May according to the French stile. I promised that your Majesty would pay him this year two millions of livres. But though the last payment should not be made till three or four months after the month of December, his Britannic Majesty would have no cause to complain. But because I represented to him that it was not less his interest than your Majesty’s to inform the ministers of the confederates in good time of this resolution, in order to remove all the hopes their masters still entertain of England taking part with them; the King of England acknowledged it was the most efficacious means he could employ to dispose your Majesty’s enemies to a peace, and promised me,
that

that as soon as Mr. de Bergeik takes leave of him (which will be in a few days), he will give him in charge to declare on his part to the King of Spain, that no consideration is capable of making him enter into the present war; and that in order to his being able to apply himself entirely to procure a peace by his mediation, he had resolved not to assemble his parliament during the winter, but to postpone it till the spring.

His Majesty also gave me his word to make the same declaration to all the other ministers of the confederates at the same time: Thus, instead of your Majesty's desire (agreeable to your orders of the 20th of last month), that this resolution should be made known towards the end of October, I can assure you that the report will be spread throughout all England before the 1st of September, and that by the 15th of the same month the truth of it will be known at the Hague, Copenhagen, Berlin, Vienna, and Madrid."—In the Depot.

After the bargain was struck, Mountague, who was Ambassador in France, and Lord Danby, prevailed on King Charles to pretend that he had made a mistake in valuing two millions of livres at 200,000 *l.* and to insist that the sum should be 200,000 *l.* neat. Vide the Duke of Leeds's printed letters on this subject. The accident of Courtin returning to France, and Barillon, a new Ambassador, coming in his place, made this game the more easy to be played. The following dispatch will shew the strange comedy which a King of England acted concerning this pretended mistake in calculation:

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th October, 1677.—Charles tries to get the two millions of livres turned into 200,000 l.

AFTER this, Sire, I thought it right to bring upon the carpet the affair of the two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and told the King of England your Majesty's surprise that Mr. Montagu should renew an affair already finished: He immediately interrupted me, and said, In the name of God, do not speak to me of this affair; I am so confused about it, that I cannot bear its being spoken of: Go to the Treasurer, and do as you and he shall understand the matter; as to myself, I am driven to despair whenever it is mentioned to me. I answered, But, Sire, your Majesty very well knows, that sending me to the Treasurer, is embarrassing the affair afresh, for the Treasurer will not give it up: He lately made a difference about the hundred thousand crowns which had been paid; and as he saw your Majesty had condemned that pretension, he now forms a new difficulty: Even Mr. Courtin, whom your Majesty would not wish to hurt with the King his master, finds himself involved in this matter. It has been said he did not rightly comprehend what passed between your Majesty and him, and that he was to blame in representing an affair as finished, on which you had only spoken some civil words. The King of England, whose patience was at an end with this discourse, said they were to blame who cast reflections on Mr. Courtin; that it was not his fault, and that what he had written was true; but that himself who spoke to me was deceived in the value of the money, and that he had not comprehended right the difference between that of France and England: In saying this he conducted me to the door of the chamber, which

he opened himself, and again repeated, I am so ashamed that I cannot speak any more to you : go see the Treasurer, for he has made known to me such large wants, and so great a necessity in my affairs, that I cannot believe the King my brother will leave me in this embarrassment.—In the Depot.

The pension stipulated in this bargain was regularly paid : Charles was sometimes premature in his demands : Barillon, even before the dispute about the 200,000*l.* was ended, writes thus to his court, on the 20th September, 1677 :—" Mr. Chiffinch is very careful to pay me visits ; and the first functions of my embassy have been to sign orders for paying bills of exchange."

During this period Courtin, in a letter to his court, 28th January, 1677, describes the sentiments of the King and his brother, and of the nation, thus :—" I can answer for it to your Majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success in all your undertakings than these two princes do. But it is also true, that you cannot count upon any except these two friends in all England."

And in another letter, of date 21st June, 1677, he writes, that Charles had given him a note of the terms on which he thought peace should be made ; adding,— " That nevertheless he does not incline to propose any thing, without knowing previously the intentions of your Majesty."—And that Charles concluded with asking 200,000*l.* for himself for the ensuing year.

N^o V.

The Prince of Orange's knowledge of these treaties.

AT an after-period the Prince of Orange came to the knowledge of these intrigues of the English and French courts against him; for in his box I found a relation of them, dated January, 1683, by Blancard, secretary to Rouvigny, the same secretary whom Rouvigny mentions in the above letter of 27th February, 1676, to have been sent over by him to France with the secret treaty written in King Charles's hand.

Extract from the memorial of Blancard, secretary to Rouvigny.—Gives a relation of the secret intrigues of the French and English courts.

Translation.

“IT is above twenty years ago, since in quality of secretary to the Marquis of Rouvigny, I went frequently with him from France to England; and was in the knowledge of a great number of very secret affairs between the two Kings, of which it is not necessary to make a detail. I will limit myself only to two or three considerable things, which I shall tell briefly, with a view to serve the Protestants in general, who may have occasion to treat with the King of England, or the King of France, viz. the States Genetal of the United Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, against both of whom they have continually acted since the breach of the triple alliance in the years 1670 and 1672.

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When the peace was negotiating at Cologne and Nimeguen, and the King of England was mediator of it, the King of France found means to gain him by money; and they made a separate treaty together in 1676, altogether advantageous to France, who was thereby assured of him, and even of his parliament, by an obligation to prorogue or dissolve it. What was singular in this treaty, and which is perhaps without example, is, that it was made without the interposition of Embassadors or Commissaries, and without ratification, because the two Kings acted by themselves alone as if they had met together. The reason of this was, that the Ministers of State both of the King of England and Duke of York did not incline it should appear that they had any knowledge of it; which went so far that none of them would put their hand to write the articles of the treaty, fearing to be punished if the parliament came to the knowledge of it. By which the King of England himself was put under the necessity of writing a pretty long treaty, all with his own hand. I carried it also to the court of France. Monsieur Louvois and Monsieur Pomponne, when they saw me, asked me if I brought the treaty. I told them I had, and even written with the King of England's hand in place of his ministers, which they could not believe till I shewed it to them. They went immediately with joy to carry the treaty with the circumstances of it to the King, who ought, according to rules, to have written with his own hand another original of the same treaty to the King of England. But to save himself, he feigned a small indisposition, and that I was in a haste to depart. And thus the King of France sent the treaty written by another hand, with which the King of England was obliged to be contented, for the reasons which they gave him. It was the more easy to make him satisfied with them that he soon
after

after touched money, about 400,000 crowns. In proportion as the money was paid him, he gave a discharge signed with his hand, of which some are written in my hand; and his ministers knew nothing of it, only Mr. Chiffins, his valet de chambre and confidant, to whose lodgings the money was carried, and with whom I went to the merchants houses to receive it.

Although the two Kings were thus perfectly united together in secret, it was agreed that they should act so as not to show any intelligence, because that would have hindered the general peace which was negotiating, and which France wished ardently since the year 1674, when the English parliament forced their King to make peace with Holland; the parliament wished also to oblige him to declare against the King of France, by causing him to be told in secret, that they would give him more money than he drew from him, and that they would put him in a condition to have Dunkirk without paying back the 5,000,000, or 6,000,000 which he had touched when he sold it. They offered him at the same time two powerful armies by sea and by land to make an invasion. But means were found to prevent him from listening to any thing on that side; and he wrote to the King of France, and said to his ministers that he had acted a mean part in abandoning him, but that he would not do it twice in declaring against him.

When the two Kings united to declare the war against Holland, they had counted that they would ruin the republic in one campaign, and that they would give so mortal a blow there to the Protestant religion, that afterwards they could overturn it through all Europe. This was their principal view, and to divide the seven United Provinces between them, without giving a part to the Prince of Orange, who was not then considered, and whom they had a design to establish elsewhere, such

as on the side of Orange, in order that his name and his family might not continue longer in the Low Countries, and that he might never give jealousy to France.

At the time even of this great union between the two Kings, the French King deceived the English. For there was no design to give him all that was promised him when they made the division before-hand of the Seven Provinces. They did not intend that he or his successors should be powerful upon the coasts of Holland or Flanders, because the King of France might some day find a new embarrassment in the design which he had of reuniting all the Spanish Low Countries to his crown.

So many great projects having failed, the King of France and his three ministers felt a mortal vexation, and the more, that the Prince of Orange began to be powerfully established, and to change the face of the affairs of the Dutch. The taking of Naerden and of Bonne undeceiving so much the court of France, even the Prince of Conde and Monsieur de Turenne, who then engaged entirely in counsels together, they took new measures, so as to abandon Utrecht and the other conquests, and to apply themselves to peace.

They resolved also in the French court, in order to hinder the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the King of England and the Duke of York not to give him the Princess Mary in marriage, or at least not till after the peace. The deferring of the marriage was promised so positively, that it was retarded for three or four years; and even to hinder their thinking of it, Monsieur de Croissy gave hopes in the year 1673, that this Princess might marry the Dauphin. Mr. Coleman believed it, and wished it ardently, and told me that the Duke of York his master hoped for it. Monsieur de Rouvigny did not disabuse them, although he knew that the court of France intended to marry the
Dauphin

Dauphin elsewhere. As that Court knew that the Duke of York expected this alliance, they imagined he might give the Princess his daughter to a Prince of the Blood of France. They sent orders upon this to Monsieur de Rouvigny to propose the Prince of Conty to him. But he did not speak of it to the Duke of York; for he knew that he would have refused it in a rage, since he had hopes of the Dauphin. He wrote his reasons to the King of France, who approved of his not having obeyed his orders, and they left the Duke of York in his hopes. I had at that time the honour to speak to him sometimes, and I was often upon the point of disabusing him, because he loved the King of France, and kept good faith with him while he was deceived by him."—In King William's cabinet.

C H A P. III.

*From the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677,
till the fall of Lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679.*

The King
hopes in
vain to
close divi-
sions by
the Prince
of
Orange's
marriage.

IN vain Charles hoped, by giving his brother's daughter in marriage to the Prince of Orange, in the year 1677, to recover the popularity which he and his brother had lost. During the first Dutch war, De Wit paid the most dangerous court to the discontented party in England*. During the second†, the Prince of Orange formed a regular party in it, scarcely needing to court men, who, in the cause of both counties, threw their arms open to receive him. From the conclusion of the peace, until his marriage‡, he preserved the same connections, although he had made Charles hope, that he was to break them off. To the people, not to the nobles or the orders of the state, the Prince had owed his elevation§. Hence a similarity of sentiments and situation between his party in Holland, and the popular party in England. The interests of religion too, which at that time were more attended to than they are now, knit the individuals of the two countries together, by the strictest

* D'Estrades, 1665.

† Lord Offory's letter in Carte's Ormond, 447. and Sir William Temple.

‡ Sir William Temple. Lord Offory's letter.

§ D'Avaux, vol. 1. p. 1, & seq.

bands of private friendship. Many of the English officers, after the army was disbanded, and of the clergy, after the dissenting clergy were ejected, settled in Holland. These men formed themselves into political councils, and kept up correspondences with similar councils of their friends established in England: To the intrigues of this party, in some measure, were owing the late differences between Charles and his parliament. In the year 1674, before differences were come to any height between Charles and the house of commons, the Prince had declined a marriage with the Duke's daughter*, although it was offered. But now, when the breach was greatly widened, he pressed for the marriage, either to close the divisions of England, or to turn them to his own advantage. In the course of the transaction, some doubtful presages broke forth; for, when the Prince, who was then in England, got not the answer to his proposal so soon as he expected, he desired Sir William Temple to inform the King, "That they must thenceforth live as the greatest friends, or the greatest foes;" and the Duke yielded to the marriage from complaisance to his brother, but exceedingly against his own inclinations.

A succession of hopes and fears, of confidence and distrust, of compliments and apologies, between the Prince and the two royal brothers, was the consequence of the marriage. But, as it is natural for the human mind to attach itself to whatever is opposite to the object of its dislike, that popularity in England which Charles and his brother lost, because they were connected with the French and popish interests, the Prince of Orange gained, because he was accounted the bulwark against both. With great ability he improved this advantage. From the neighbourhood of his residence to England,

* Sir William Temple. Lord Offory's letter.

all flocked to pay their court to him ; some in compliment to the King, others from a view to the future succession, and perhaps a few more daring spirits to anticipate it. The respect with which he received the King's party in public, he avowed to the popular party in private. After his marriage the secretaries of state had orders to correspond * officially with him. His situation, with regard to English affairs, gave him many opportunities, in other respects, to gain successively the King's ministers. He treated them with the equality, he corresponded with them with the simplicity, of private friendship. By compliments to the good and the brave, he procured friends ; and, as he had no title to give reprehensions, he drew no enemies upon himself †.

Breach between
Charles
and Louis.

Lord Danby was the person who brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage, both with the King and the Prince ; partly from his aversion to France, but more to stop the current of popular fury ; for a minister in England is always sure, that the storms raised against the crown will fall first upon him. For the same reasons he endeavoured to break off all connection between his master and France. Louis XIV. had, for many years, used many arts to obstruct the approaches to a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, and had even buoyed up the Duke of York with the false hopes of an alliance

* There is in the Paper-office a vast number of copies of official letters to him, and these discover many curious circumstances of the times.

The present establishment of the Paper-office does great honour to his Majesty's reign, and to the memory of the late Mr. Grenville. During his administration, a commission was directed to three gentlemen of distinguished knowledge and industry, to put the state papers of England, which formerly were a mass of confusion, into order. And these gentlemen are, with much fidelity, executing their duty to the public.

† King William's letters are the best written of the age in which he lived.

with

with the Dauphin. But now Lord Danby persuaded the King to conclude the marriage-treaty, without acquainting the French court with his intention at all; and the marriage was no sooner celebrated, than the Prince and he prevailed upon Charles to send Lord Duras, afterwards Earl of Feversham, ambassador to Louis, to threaten him with war, if he did not make peace with the allies upon the terms carried by Lord Duras, and to demand back the English troops in the French service.

A few days after the departure of Lord Duras, the Prince of Orange returned into Holland; but he had hardly lost sight of the coasts of England, when Charles, either from fickleness and fear, or from the habit of a duplicity which ran through all the conduct of his life, made advances to France. He issued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April 1678, as by his late secret treaty with Louis he had promised to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Lord Duras's embassy; he permitted Duras to treat, instead of persisting in the original order for him to return in two days if he did not get a positive answer from Louis: He issued no proclamation to recal the British troops; and he told Barillon in private, that he would not recal those troops in a haste, and that he intended no war.

But Louis despising such conduct, equally whether it proceeded from art or from weakness, stopped the pension provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders, if he would not interfere in the war gave a flat refusal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, prepared to send his troops into Flanders, and soon after marched himself at their head, laid siege to Ipres and Ghent, and took them*.

* Vid. Appendix to this book, No. 1.

Charles, then, at last, either touched with the loss of his subsidy, or hurt in his pride, revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April 1678, ordered it to meet immediately, viz. in the month of January, hastily struck up a league offensive and defensive with the Dutch, informed parliament of the measures he had taken against France, asked supplies to support them, raised an army, and sent his son the young Duke of Monmouth with part of it into Flanders. Even the Duke of York animated him to the war; for though, while the rupture was forming between the two Kings, he had, with tears in his eyes, adjured Barillon to prevent the march of the French troops into Flanders; yet he afterwards formed a project of getting a great army raised, under the pretence of the war, of taking the command of it himself, and of making it the great instrument to secure his brother's power and his own safety. By appearing publicly for a war with France, he hoped too to gain popularity in the mean time to himself.

The popular party and the French court join interests.

But these views were disappointed by the sudden junction of interests in the beginning of the year 1678, between the French court and the popular party in the English parliament; both of whom happened at that time to have the same common objects to pursue. It was the interest of Louis to render ineffectual any union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get the English army of 20,000 men disbanded (which, to the astonishment of Europe, had been raised in the space of six weeks), and a parliament dissolved which had repeatedly addressed Charles for a war against him, and to overturn a minister who was continually urging his master to the same war. The popular party again dreaded, in the strength which that union in the royal family, and that army, would confer upon their sovereign, the loss of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parlia-

parliament, chosen in a popular ferment, to gain new strength to themselves, and they wished to pull down Lord Danby for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister. Barillon, lately sent ambassador from France, received the first advances from some of the English for this junction; but Rouvigny, because he had more experience in English affairs, was immediately sent over to England to assist him in an intrigue of such infinite consequence to France.

Men seldom change their principles, or rather their tempers and passions, from the cradle to the grave. There is hardly a political exception from the rule in English history, except in Lord Strafford and the Marquis of Montrose, both of whom were cut off by violent deaths before it could be known whether they would have continued exceptions from the rule to the end. The intercourse with Barillon and Rouvigny was at first managed by Lord Hollis, one of the five whom the King's father had gone into the House of Commons to seize with his own hands; by Lord Shaftsbury, who, next to Cromwell, had done the most hurt to the royal cause in the late reign; by the Duke of Buckingham, who had never been attached to his master even while he followed his fortunes as an exile in foreign countries; and by Lord Russel, who was drawn into it by the confidence he put in Rouvigny, who was his relation and friend, and by the unsurmountable jealousy which he entertained of the intentions of the King and the Duke to destroy the religion and liberties of their country. Algernon Sidney, formerly so famous for his republican actions, and afterwards so famous by his republican writings and republican death, soon joined in the intrigue. After it had been for some months conducted between these persons and a few more, with the two French emissaries, it took a more regular form, when a considerable number of the popular

popular party sent a special messenger, one Falisseau, to France, to form a regular communication of interests and measures directly with the French court itself. The measures either agreed upon or understood were, that the popular party, by distracting the King's business in parliament, should oblige him to disband his army, to dissolve his parliament, and to dismiss his minister Lord Danby; and that Louis should assist them in protecting the liberties of their country against all who should invade them. In order to support the party, money was distributed among many of them. Buckingham took much, and asked more; and it was probably his sole object from the beginning. Lord Hollis was offered a box of diamonds in value 1500*l.* under the pretence, that it had been forgot to be given to him when he quitted his embassy in France; he refused it in a way which shewed he would afterwards accept, but died before the offer was renewed. When Rouvigney told Lord Russel that he was charged with money from his court, and asked his advice to whom he should give it, Lord Russel, with a just sense of his own honour, answered, " he " should be very sorry to have any connection with persons capable of being gained by money;" yet, blinded by party to the honour of others, added, that " the proposal pleased him, because it shewed him that there " was no private understanding between the two Kings " against the liberties of England." Sidney received money more than once, either pressed by his straits, or intending to employ it in the political services of party, or reconciling his conduct to his pride, by the reflection that all arts were fair to overturn that monarchy which he abhorred, and introduce that latitude in religion which he adored. Nothing was offered to Shaftsbury, either because he was deemed too cautious, or too rich to be bribed without such a sum as was grudged by the French court,

court, or because it was believed that he was prone enough from revenge, without the incitements of interest, to give disturbance to his master.

A connection so strange, and so secretly conducted, produced the most irregular effects in the English parliament. The House of Commons pressed their sovereign to enter into a war with France, which they would not give him money to support; to levy an army, which they disbanded almost as soon as it was raised; and to enter into alliances which they afterwards disapproved. Harassed, perplexed, distracted, Charles little suspected the invisible hand which dealt all these mischiefs around him *.

But while Louis was treating with Charles's subjects unknown to him, he was treating with him unknown to them, to gain the same great object, security from the arms of England, and from the natural passions of an English parliament against France. In May of the year 1678, he concluded a private treaty with Charles, by which, in consideration of six millions of livres, Charles engaged to disband his army, to stand neuter in the war, if the allies would not accept the terms which France was at that time offering them, and not to assemble his parliament for six months. The Duke and Lord Danby were the only persons privy to the treaty; the former of whom promoted, and the other opposed it as much as he could. Charles was obliged to write it with his own hand, in order to keep it a secret from all others *.

The terms, which had been offered by France to the allies, were soon after accepted by the Dutch, who dreaded equally to be abandoned by the unsteadiness of Charles, and by the factions of his subjects. Part of

Private treaty in May 1678 between Louis and Charles.

Double game of Louis, and Charles: Charles the dupe of it.

* Vid. Appendix to this Chap. No. 2.

† Ibid.

these

these terms were, that Louis should evacuate a great part of his conquests in the Spanish Netherlands. But after he had bought off Charles, and made a separate peace with the Dutch, he thought he might treat Spain as he pleased, and therefore refused to evacuate his conquests until satisfaction should be made to his allies the Swedes. All Europe cried aloud against the breach of faith. Spain and Holland linked themselves together more closely than ever, and called upon England for help.

The opportunity appeared to Charles to be fair for playing that double game in which he took delight, and to enhance the price of his friendship to France. On the one hand he concluded a treaty by means of Sir William Temple with the Dutch, by which he engaged to join in war against France, if she did not, without any regard to the interests of Sweden, evacuate the Spanish towns within two months; and on the other hand he offered privately a treaty to Louis, by which, in consideration of a pension of six millions of livres for one year, and four millions for two more, he was to join him in favour of the Swedes, to furnish a fleet and army for their service paid by France, and to observe a neutrality in Flanders; a treaty which Charles wished for the more, because it would have given him a pretence for keeping up an army independent of parliament, and without its consent: Views which, if they had been known at the time, might, if any thing could, have justified the imprudence of his subjects in intriguing with France.

But despising and insulting the artifices of Charles, Louis betrayed the secret to the allies, concluded the terms of peace with the Dutch at Nimeguen, pursued measures to bring the Spaniards into them, and stopped the pension which he had engaged to pay Charles by the
private

private treaty made with him in the preceding month of May.

Charles upon this, for once in his life, became sincere, and by promises and embassies, and by great bodies of troops sent to Flanders, endeavoured to prevail upon the Dutch to disown the peace which their ambassadors had just concluded, and the Spaniards to refuse their accession to it. The Dutch, willing to engage him in a war with France, and to keep free of it themselves*, encouraged his ardour, but kept clear of its influence. The Spaniards followed their example, and the general peace of Christendom was established at Nimeguen.

But while Charles was spending his anger every where in vain against France, she was secretly preparing a mine to blow up his minister, and expose himself, by getting one of his own servants to lay before parliament one of those secret money transactions into which she had herself drawn him †. Mr. Montague, afterwards Duke of Montague, who had lately been ambassador in France, was provoked against Lord Danby for having preferred Sir William Temple to him in a competition for the office of secretary of state, and made an offer to the French court, that, for a hundred thousand crowns, he would ruin Lord Danby, by betraying to parliament Danby's correspondence concerning one of the private money treaties with France. His offer was accepted. In an absolute monarchy those in power are every thing, and those out of it nothing; but in free governments, simple individuals command often the fates of them. A private English gentleman concerted slowly and surely, with a foreigner who could not even speak the language of England, the ruin of a great minister,

Breach
widened
between
Charles
and Louis.

Intrigue of
the ruin of
Lord
Danby.

* Fagel once let this intention drop to Sir William Temple. Vid. Sir William's Memoirs. Compare also the passage from Lord North's Memoirs in North's Exam. p. 474.

† Vid. Appendix to this Chapter, No. IV.

the favourite of his prince, the friend of the people, as much as one of Charles's ministers could be, and in the plenitude of security. The scheme was by degrees imparted to others of the popular party. Even Lord Halifax, from the recesses of the court, joined in it to rise on the ruins of Lord Danby. Algernon Sidney was the person who managed the correspondence privately between Barillon and him concerning it; but the intended attack was put off from time to time for some months, because the popular leaders could not agree among themselves upon the time of making it; some thinking that it should not be done until the army was disbanded, and others, that it was the surest way to get it disbanded.

In the mean time another attack was preparing, which proved still more fatal to Charles and his brother.

Shaftesbury contrives the popish plot.

The most desperate enemy is a friend provoked. Shaftesbury, who had joined with the King and the Duke to exalt the power of the crown, because it exalted his own; but who, when deserted by the King, had put himself at the head of the people, to gratify his revenge, to secure his safety, and to open a new field for his ambition; a man insinuating imposing in private, eloquent daring in public, full of resources in both; who had been bred up in the schools of civil commotion, in the long parliament, in Cromwell's revolutions, and in those which followed Cromwell's death, and who, from that education, knew well the power of popular rumours, at times when popular passions are in ferment, had, while the attack upon Danby was projecting, framed the fiction of the popish plot, in order to bury the Duke, and perhaps the King, under the weight of the national fear and hatred of popery*. Shaftesbury was stimulated too,

* It has been much doubted whether Shaftesbury contrived the popish plot, or if he only made use of it, after it broke out. Some papers

too, by offences both given and received. For the King * having said to him, "Shaftesbury, thou art the greatest rogue in the kingdom;" he answered, bowing, "Of a subject, Sir." And the Duke having rated him in passionate terms for one of his speeches in parliament, "I am glad," said he, "your Royal Highness has not called me also papist and coward." The account of this plot, in which was involved the assassination of Charles and his brother, an invasion, the conflagration of the city, and a massacre of the protestants, was calculated, in its great lines, to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation, and, by the familiarity and detail of its circumstances, to catch the credulity of the meanest of the populace. By making the Duke one of the objects of the pretended assassination, it prevented the suspicion of its being directed against him; and, by accusing the Queen, whom the King did not love, it gave a chance for separating the interests of the brothers. The information, as soon as given, flew instantly abroad. Even the marvellousness of the story gave credit to what it was almost impossible to believe human fiction could have invented. Accident after accident arising in a manner unparalleled in history, concurred to maintain the

papers I have seen convince me he contrived it, though the persons he made use of as informers ran beyond their instructions. The common objection to the supposition of his contriving the plot, is, the absurdity of its circumstances. When Shaftesbury himself was pressed with regard to that absurdity, he made an answer which shows equally the irregularity and the depth of his genius. An account of it is in North's Examen, p. 95. "A certain Lord of his confidence in parliament, once asked him what he intended to do with the plot, which was so full of nonsense as would scarce go down with *tantum non* ideots; what then could he propose by pressing the belief of it upon men of common sense, and especially in parliament?"—"It is no matter," said he, "the more nonsensical the better; if we cannot bring them to swallow worse nonsense than that, we shall never do any good with them."

* Mr. Walpole.

delusion. But above all, the murder of Godfrey, who, in his office of a magistrate, had made the plot public, caused almost every protestant to imagine, he felt the dagger in his breast. Shaftesbury knew too well the nature of the human mind, not to improve upon this last accident. He suggested to his faction, to bring the eye in aid of the imagination, in order to complete the terrors of the people. The dead body, ghastly and with the sword fixed in it, and lying on a bier, was exposed during two days in the public street. It was carried in procession through the city of London to the grave, as the remains of a martyr to the protestant religion, seventy-two clergymen walking before, near a thousand persons of condition behind, innumerable crowds in a long silent order, an expression of passion more dangerous than that of clamour and confusion, bringing up the rear. Void of all honour in politics, Shaftesbury coined rumours as they fitted his purpose, and had men of his party ready who could repeat, and men who could write them, so as to make them circulate through every part of the kingdom*. Void of all feeling, he confirmed his inventions by public trials, and, without remorse, saw prisoners led to death for charges which himself had contrived; engaging thus even the passions of horror and amazement in the public, to make things credible, which, without these, could not have been believed. Success seemed to follow in a train. The crown lawyers, the crown judges, most of the King's servants, believed in the plot as firmly as the meanest of the people. The King's chief minister Lord Danby had been the first to give it credit, in order to present an object of prosecution to parliament in place of himself. The King's late ministers, Buckingham, Lauderdale, and

* North's Examen, 88. 100.

Shaftesbury, were joined, in their zeal against it, by the popular Lords Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, and Russell; and the King, to avoid the imputation of popery, entered into the prosecution of a plot which he knew to be a fiction.

Information was no sooner given of the popish plot, than it was converted to the purpose of excluding the Duke of York from the throne; and never was a political engine more ably managed. Even before the popish plot broke out, the minds of the public had been prepared by a number of pamphlets, which pointed out the right of parliament to change the succession of the crown on account of the popery of the person in right of it. The first of those pamphlets was written by one whom Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lord Wharton had employed. The Duke reproached them with the injury: They acknowledged the pamphlet, but excused themselves by saying, that the person who wrote it had gone beyond his instructions. The terrors of the plot had made all the people in the town and the country provide themselves with arms*; and now, to preserve these arms by authority of law in the same hands, the popular party got a bill passed through both houses, which was contrived to weaken the King's power over the militia. To prevent the interposition of the army, the commons petitioned the King to disband it; and supplied him with money for that purpose. To secure a superiority of numbers in the house of Lords, they procured the royal assent to a bill which excluded papists from sitting there. In order to flatter the ambition of the different parties who had views to the succession, and by that art to gain their concurrence in the promotion of

The exclusion of the Duke founded upon the popish plot.

Preparations for it.

* Letter Duke of Newcastle to Secretary Jenkins, in the Paper-office, June 3, 1683, and many other letters there.

the exclusion, it was resolved in the project of the bill to leave the name of the successor indeterminate*. And, as the first step to connect the popish plot with the exclusion, Lord Ruffel moved for a resolution of the House, "That the opinion which the papists have of the Duke's religion is the cause of the plot."

Pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth set up.

In the mean time, a new figure started up to encrease the national ferment, and to add the miseries of a father to those of a brother, in the mind of the King. His natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, young, beautiful, brave, generous, affecting popularity, and tenderly beloved by his father, had been educated with one part of the flower of the English youth at Oxford, and served with another in the army; so that he had all the advantages of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross, a Scotchman, either from love to his pupil, or to gain importance to himself, was the first person who inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the King had been privately married to his mother. Ross went further; for he advised Cosins, bishop of Durham, to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; making use of this argument, that, if the Duke of York should be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view, and, if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a papist from the throne: Circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the King, but which that Prince disregarded, acquitting Monmouth, and imputing them only to the petulance of his tutor. Yet Ross, after Cosins died, spread a report abroad, that he had left such a certificate behind

* Passages from Lord North's memoirs in North's Examen, p. 390.

him. Upon the death of the Duke of Albemarle, the King had abolished the office of Lord General of the army, deeming it too great for a subject. But, in the year 1674, at a time when it was apprehended the contents of the nation might break forth into violence, the Duke of Monmouth, using the pretence, that the officers of the army scrupled to fire upon rioters, without the order of the General for their warrant, prevailed upon the King to revive the office, and bestow it upon him. Monmouth gave directions, that, in the form of his commission, he should be called *the King's son*, but that the usual addition to his name of the word *natural* should be omitted. The Duke of York, who had in vain opposed the preferment itself, having received information of this, sent orders to the officer who was to draw the commission, to do it in the usual form. The officer obeyed, and delivered the commission to Vernon, the Duke of Monmouth's secretary. But Vernon, by his master's order, erased the word *natural*. The Duke of York contrived to be with the King when the commission was presented, and complained of the alteration. The King, without making any answer, clipped the commission through the middle with a pair of scissors, and desired a new one might be brought him. This was the first instance of competition between the two Dukes, and of the towering schemes which Monmouth fostered in secret. After this, the Dukes of Portsmouth and Lord Danby buoyed Monmouth up in the favour of Charles, in order to counterbalance the influence of the Duke of York, which they found inconsistent with their own. The animosity between the uncle and the nephew was augmented by a suspicion which the Duke of York had expressed, that Monmouth was son to Robert Sidney, brother to the famous Henry and Algernon Sidneys, the most beautiful man of the
age,

age, who had been in use to boast of his favours from Monmouth's mother, and whom the Duke imagined Monmouth resembled in his beauty. When the bill for excluding papists from parliament was brought into the House of Lords, the Duke of York had, with tears in his eyes, beseeched to be excepted, and was saved only by two voices : But the Duke of Monmouth went out of the House during the vote. He now declared himself openly for the exclusion. And his partisans, asserting his legitimacy, maintained every where that he was next heir to the crown.

Fall of
Lord Dan-
by, and
dissolution
of parlia-
ment.

In the midst of so much combustible matter the train laid by Montagu and Barillon against Lord Danby and his master, was set on fire. For, Danby having either got intelligence of what was going on underhand against him, or fearing Montagu, because conscious how much he was in his power, procured an order from the King to seize his papers upon an affected charge of his corresponding with the Pope's nuncio. But Montagu had secreted the fatal letters. He told in a full House of Commons where they were to be found. Some members were instantly sent to the place, and brought them. The King's disgrace and his minister's crime were read aloud to a numerous and inflamed assembly; inflamed still more by the discovery of Coleman's correspondence, which showed that the Duke had been carrying on a correspondence with France against the religion of his country and its interests. Danby was thrown from the summit of power, and almost in the same instant of time, by an impeachment, into the solitude of a prison.

It is common for men who love the treason to hate the traitor. The French court, which Montagu had so effectually served, paid him* with only 50,000 of the

* Vid. appendix to the next chapter.

100,000 crowns they had promised him, under the pretence that Danby's ruin was not completed, because he was not condemned. Montagu was obliged to make repeated applications even for the half which he got: A mortification perhaps greater, than that of the refusals which he met with*.

The King, exasperated in his age with a parliament which had been so loyal to him in his youth, dissolved it, after it had sat sixteen years: An imprudent measure, which threw a new election into the hands of the people, at a time when their passions were all on fire.

The exile of the Duke was the consequence of the fall of Lord Danby, and of the dissolution of the parliament. Before the new one met, Charles urged his brother, and sent some of the bishops to urge him, to conform to the church of England; but in vain. He then privately prevailed with Lady Powis, to intreat the Duke, in name of her husband, and of four other popish Lords, who had been committed to the Tower on account of the popish plot, to go abroad, in order to take the rage of the public off the four Lords: But the Duke refused to yield to her request. The King, at last, ordered him to go; and he obeyed with reluctance. He asked leave to take his daughter, the Princess Anne, with him; but was refused. He desired a declaration from his brother, that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother: It was granted. The Duke's exile was owing partly to the advice of Danby, who urged, that his removal would remove the imputation of the King's being governed by popish councils, but more to the persuasions of the Duchess of Portsmouth, whom Shaftesbury flattered with the hopes of a parliamentary settlement of the crown upon her son the Duke of Richmond.

First exile
of the
Duke.

* Vid. appendix to this chapter, No. V.

A P P E N D I X

TO

CHAPTER III. OF THE REVIEW.

Nº I.

Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning the differences which the marriage of the Princess of Orange created between Louis and Charles, and the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party in parliament.

THE marriage of the Duke of York's daughter to the Prince of Orange, directed by King Charles against the will of her father, and without any previous intimation of the intention to France, was the operation, in a manner, of a minute. The surprise of France upon it, and the views of Charles in it, are related in the following dispatch, written a few days before the marriage :

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 1st Nov. 1677.—His surprise at the Prince of Orange's marriage.—Charles's reasons for it.

SIRE,

“ I HAVE been informed, from several quarters, within these two days, that the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Princess Mary is in treaty, and even far advanced. This obliged me to speak of it to the Duke

Duke of York, whom I found very different from what he had appeared upon this affair, having formerly positively told me that he would not think of it till after the conclusion of the peace; but the day before yesterday he spoke to me less clearly, and said the King his brother was very much bent upon it, and that he advised me to speak to him upon the subject (till now he would never permit me). I said all to him, I thought proper, to dissuade him from precipitating an affair of this nature. I saw plainly, by what he said to me, that it was far advanced; and I went to the Duchess of Portsmouth's with a design to speak to the King of England of it, but he would not give me time, for as soon as I got there he took me into a closet, and said, I wish to talk to you of an affair which is going on here, that you may give an account of it to the King your master: It is the marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece the Princess Mary. I judge it very necessary for my interests, and I believe I shall draw considerable advantages from it now, and greater hereafter. This alliance will quiet the suspicions which my subjects have, that the alliance I preserve with France, hath no other foundation than a change of religion. It is my brother, the Duke of York's conduct, that has given rise to all these suspicions. All the jealousy and passion which people have in this country against the prosperities of France, comes from the Duke's declaring his religion. In the first war of 1667, they looked here upon all the conquests that were made in Flanders with indifference, and cared little about them; but since the Duke of York professed the Catholic religion, all England has been in motion, and apprehensive that I have other designs, and am taking measures for changing the government and religion of my country. This is the rock against which I must guard myself, and I assure you that I need every thing to

enable me to resist the continual efforts of the whole English nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother. I am assured that the Prince of Orange's marriage with my niece will dissipate a part of these suspicions, and infinitely serve to shew that I have no design which is not conformable to the established laws and religion of England. It will destroy the cabals that might be made, and put my nephew in my interest. I confound thereby the hopes of those who only seek a pretence to rise against me, and who would endeavour to get the Prince of Orange on their side, by making him entertain pretensions, which now he will rest on no other foundation than my friendship, and a true attachment to my interests."

The marriage was immediately followed by the embassy of Lord Duras concerted with the Prince, which threatened France with war if she did not accept of peace on the terms which Lord Duras carried, and by a demand upon the French court to send back the British troops in the French service.

Yet even in these measures Charles endeavoured to keep terms with France: He issued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April, 1678, as by his late secret treaty with Louis he had promised to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Duras's embassy, as appears by Barillon's letter to his court of 16 December, 1677, in the Depot. He permitted Lord Duras to treat, instead of persisting in the original order for him to return in two days if his message was not complied with. He issued no proclamation to recall the British troops. And Barillon writes on the 3d of February, 1677-8, that

that Charles told him he would not recall those troops in a haste, and that he intended no war.

Louis the XIVth, however, saw the consequences of the Prince of Orange's marriage. He stopped the pension provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders if he would not interfere in the war, gave a flat refusal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, and prepared to send his troops into Flanders.

Barillon, 27th December, 1677, writes thus to Louis the XIVth:—"I shall make use of the advantageous offers to soften the refusal of continuing the payment of the subsidies. I am afraid this will not make reparation for the anger which such a declaration will produce." And on the 30th December, 1677, he writes:—"I have made general offers of the King of England's getting some places in Flanders, if peace is not made."

This stop in the subsidy explains the cause of an extraordinary measure taken by Charles, when at this time he revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April, 1678, and he now ordered it to meet immediately. It explains too the cause of the offensive and defensive treaty which at this time he hastily made up with the Dutch.

The Duke of York saw the fatal consequence to himself in these approaches to a rupture between Charles and Louis.

Barillon writes on the 24th January, 1678, that the Duke of York adjured him with tears in his eyes, to prevail on Louis to stop the march of his troops into Flanders,

France aimed yet a more important blow against Charles for having brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage. For she entered into the most dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament against him.

As the intrigues of France in an English parliament are very new matter in the history of English party, I shall relate the progress of them in the order of time as I found it in the Depot at Versailles.

It has been mentioned in the last chapter, that whilst Louis was in friendship with Charles in the year 1677, he furnished him with money to bribe his own subjects in parliament. In the dispatches of that year, there are also traces of Monsieur Courtin's own connexions (independent of the King's) with some members of parliament, to attach them to the interests of Charles and France; and on the 15th July, 1677, there are in one of Courtin's accounts presents stated as given by him to persons in England, the particulars of which shall be given in the next chapter.

Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange, and the side which Charles immediately after seemed to take against France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England came to have the same political objects. It was the interest of Louis to prevent an union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 English troops disbanded which had been raised against him to the astonishment of Europe in the short space of six weeks, to have a parliament dissolved which had repeatedly addressed Charles for a war against him, and to overturn a minister who had of late continually urged his master to the same war.

For

For this last *vide* Lord Danby's letters. The popular party again dreaded, in the strength which that union and that army would confer upon their Sovereign, the loss of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament, chosen in a popular ferment, to gain new strength to themselves; and they wished to pull down Lord Danby for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister.

These circumstances of accident led the way to a connection between the popular and the French interests.

On the 13th November, 1677, Barillon, who had been sent ambassador to England only two months before, writes to his own court, that some of the members of parliament in opposition to the court seemed desirous of forming connections with France, and were making advances to him, but that he stands off till he should see what steps Charles would take with regard to France. He adds, "I have not hitherto given so little encouragement to what has been said to me on the part of the cabals in opposition to the court, as to put it out of my power to enter into measures with them whenever I please.—I will not give his Britannic Majesty subject to complain, that those who have the honour to serve your Majesty observed the same conduct with regard to him which the ministers of the allies have done."

On the 24th January, 1677-8, he writes, that the advances had been renewed to him, that he was inclined to form a connection between France and the popular party, but that he could not do it without orders. He says, that the use which Charles's opposers in parliament are to make of his recalling the British troops from France, is to impute it to a design of arming these troops to destroy the liberties of England.

These letters probably suggested to the court of France the idea of sending over Monsi. Rouvigny, who having
been

been longer in England than Barillon had been, could know persons better than him, with a great sum of money to be distributed among the popular party in the English parliament.

In Lord Danby's letters (which are published) there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montague, ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him, that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand, and to act in concert with Lord Russel; and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England.

The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russel and the court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue the man of honour appearing.

Translation.

Barillon's memorial of the 14th March, 1678.—Rouvigny's intercourse with Lord Russel and Lord Hollis.—Honour of the former.—In the Depot.

“MR. de Rouvigny has seen Lord Russel and Lord Hollis, who were fully satisfied with the assurance he gave them, that the King (i. e. of France) is convinced it is not his interest to make the King of England absolute master in his kingdom; and that his Majesty (i. e. of France) would contribute his endeavours to bring about the dissolution of this parliament, as soon as the time should appear favourable. Lord Russel told him he would engage Lord Shaftesbury in this affair, and that

he should be the only man to whom he would speak of it explicitly; and that they would work underhand to hinder an augmentation of the sum which has been offered for carrying on the war; and would cause to be added to the offer of the million sterling, such disagreeable conditions to the King of England, as they hoped would rather make him wish to re-unite himself with France than to consent to them. He gave Mr. de Rouvigny to understand, that he suspected your Majesty approved of the King of England's declaring war against you, only to give him an opportunity of obtaining money, and under a promise that, as soon as he had got the money, he would conclude a peace. Mr. de Rouvigny told him, that to shew him clearly the contrary, I was ready to distribute a considerable sum in the parliament to prevail with it to refuse any money for the war, and solicited him to name the persons who might be gained. Lord Ruffel replied, that he should be very sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money; but he appeared pleased to see by this proposal that there is no private understanding between your Majesty and the King of England, to hurt their constitution: He told Mr. de Rouvigny, that he and all his friends wanted nothing further than the dissolution of parliament; that they knew it could only come from the help of France; that since he assured them it was the design of your Majesty to assist in it, they would trust him, and would do all in their power to oblige the King of England to ask your friendship once more, and by this means put your Majesty in a state to contribute to their satisfaction: This he assured him would be Lord Shaftesbury's sentiments, who was one of these days to see Mr. de Rouvigny at Lord Ruffel's. Lord Hollis appeared more reserved than Lord Ruffel; he appears, like him, to be very glad of your Majesty's good inten-

tions, but he thinks the peace is so difficult to be made, that he is afraid it will be a long time before your Majesty can be in a condition to give them satisfaction by getting the parliament dissolved. Mr. de Rouvigny found him so embittered against the court and the ministry, that he did not dare to say any thing to him of the desire which the King of England shews for peace, lest he should bring his cabal, from his desire to oppose all the designs of the court, to be partizans for the war. And he believes that he only started difficulties about the peace, to engage him to tell what the King of England had said upon that head. Lord Hollis does not believe they are going to accuse the high treasurer in the House of Commons; but Lord Ruffel told Mr. de Rouvigny that he had taken the resolution to support the affair against the treasurer, and even attack the Duke of York and all the Catholics. The House of Lords will in all likelihood oppose the House of Commons in this, because the Lords pretend that no one can be excluded from the upper House, without being tried in form. The design of getting the parliament dissolved cannot be kept too secret, because, though it be a thing wished by all England, yet if those who are at present the members knew that it was thought of, they would do all the King of England could wish to hinder the execution of the design."

About this time a bill had been framed for giving the King a million for carrying on the war against France. It was impossible for the popular party to oppose this bill without betraying their connections with France. But they endeavoured to disappoint it, by introducing many clauses into it which marked an unusual jealousy in parliament

liament of the crown. But all these Charles submitted to. The following letter from Barillon gives an account of what passed between Rouvigny, Lord Ruffel, and Lord Hollis, upon occasion of this bill.

Translation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, of the 24th March, 1678.—Further intercourse of Rouvigny with Lord Ruffel and Lord Hollis.—Their views.—In the Depot.

“ I HAVE seen the persons with whom I have commerce, and Mr. de Rouvigny has seen Lord Hollis and Lord Ruffel. Both these and those speak the same language, and say they never pretended to oppose openly the giving money to the King of England; that this would be a means of drawing upon themselves the hatred of the people, and the reproach of all that might hereafter happen; that the lower House had added to this act clauses so contrary to the privileges and authority of his Britannic Majesty, that they had hoped neither the Prince nor his ministers would have consented to them, or at least that they would have permitted difficulties to be thrown in the way; but that the avidity for money, and the desire of having troops on foot, which they thought they might dispose of, had made the ministers pass the act without any consideration for the true interests of his Britannic Majesty; that this redoubles their fears of the designs of the court, with which they are much alarmed. Even although they are at this minute persuaded that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert, they are still under apprehension lest the war should serve only to bring them under subjection. They see the danger to which they are exposed, but do not know a remedy to

save them from it. However, this cabal is not absolutely discouraged, and though the lord high treasurer strengthens himself every day, the others have always for their aim to hinder the parliament granting any more money. They are resolved to seek for every thing that can give the court vexation, to the end that it may soon dismiss them, and that the King of England may have no other money than what may arise from this tax, which will not amount, according to the common opinion, to more than 600 thousand pounds sterling. It will be seen in two days what the House of Commons will do; for the cabal, opposed to the court, knows well the necessity of not losing time, and care is taken to shew them the importance of it. There is, however, much appearance that the parliament will give the rest of the million which was promised, and they are working continually to find out a fund for it. I beg your Majesty to believe that I omit nothing which appears to me to be proper to fortify the party that is opposed to the court in parliament. It is not easy to succeed when the King of England conforms himself to all that his subjects prescribe to him, even though the most contrary to his interest, I am persuaded the high treasurer believes he may find opportunities, either in peace or war, to put the authority of the King his master on a better foot, and that at present he thinks it best to let himself be driven with the torrent.

The following letter exhibits a cruel picture of the effects of party in England, when confidence is once lost between the Prince and the people.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mons. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, of the 11th April, 1678.—Dangerous projects of the heads of the popular party acting in concert with France.—In the Depot.

THE heads of the cabal, to wit, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and Lord Hollis, have given me to understand that there is nothing so dangerous for them as to leave matters any longer in their present uncertainty; that the levies are going on, and when there is a sufficient number on foot, the court will attempt every thing that is agreeable to its interest; that by arresting the principal persons, they will put it out of the power of the others to resist, or oppose themselves to the designs of the court; that when England shall be subjected at home, the court will carry on a foreign war with the greater facility, and the whole nation being in one way of thinking, the supplies of men and money for Flanders will be great; that nothing is more proper to prevent this, than to press the declaration of war, and oblige his Britannic Majesty to determine before measures are taken to support it: That your Majesty might acquire merit with the whole nation, if you declared that this state of uncertainty is not agreeable to you, and that you desire to know whether you are to have peace or war: That in all appearance this step will not oblige his Britannic Majesty to declare war, if he has not resolved upon it already; and that those with whom it is concerted, will by this means know, and make known to their party, that your Majesty not only has no connection with the King of England to oppress them, but that you will not suffer him, under the pretence of an imaginary war, to find means to bring them into subjection.

subjection. I did not controvert this way of reasoning, and have been in some degree obliged to enter into the sentiments of the Duke of Buckingham, and to pretend to him that I did not think it impossible your Majesty might order me to speak as he wished. Lord Russel proposed the same thing to Mr. de Rouvigny. I believe, Sire, that their chief motive in this is, to clear up a suspicion which still remains with some of them, that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert. Another end they aim at is, to force the court to declare war, and thereby shelter themselves from the danger, lest the army, which is now raising, should be employed to change the form of government in England. They have also a view of procuring for the future your Majesty's protection if they are attacked. But I do not yet find them disposed to enter into formal and immediate engagements, except the Duke of Buckingham, who is more bold than the others, and who believes their real safety depends on what your Majesty will do in their favour. If I durst express my thoughts to your Majesty, I should think it would not be amiss to say something on your part to his Britannic Majesty, that might show him you don't intend to remain long in an uncertainty as to peace or war. It is easy to soften the language in speaking to him, and not force him to declare himself against his inclination; however, enough might be said to satisfy those who are under apprehensions that the court only intends their oppression. I ought to inform your Majesty that all these leaders of party will not be averse to peace, if they believe that your Majesty will enter into no engagements against their liberty. On this head I give them all the assurances I can; and the most sensible amongst them know well it is not the interest of France that a King of England should be absolute master, and be able to dispose according to his will of all the power of the nation."

Some months after this, the intrigue between the popular party and Monfr. de Rouvigny and Monfr. Barillon, took a more regular form: For a considerable number of that party sent a messenger to France, to convert that connexion of interests which had hitherto been carried on only between them and these two French emissaries, into a connexion of interests directly with the French court itself. Barillon in the following letter gave intimation to the French minister of the application which was soon to be made to him in the name of that party.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to the minister, 10th October, 1678.—The popular party send a messenger to France to treat with the French court.—In the Depot.

THE news of a conspiracy against the King of England's person would have deserved well to be sent by an express courier, but I had, Sir, yet another reason. I have for some time known here the Sieur Falaiseau, who was with Mr. Montagu whilst he was Ambassador in France; he knows many people, and has made connexions enough in England. I thought I might open myself to him, and let him know that he would do me a pleasure to manage the spirits of those he should find in a disposition to take measures with France. Within these two days he came to me, and told me he could answer to me for many very considerable persons, on account both of their birth and fortunes; that the principal amongst them are members of parliament, and are all in the same mind of opposing strongly any designs
the

the King of England might have to keep up the army; either with a view to make war, or to change the government. They offer to take all possible measures with me for these ends; but they desire first to have the King's positive word that they shall never be discovered, and that what shall be promised them shall be observed. To this purpose they are desirous that the *Sieur Falaiseau* should make a journey into France; that by you, Sir, they may receive his Majesty's word; and that afterwards you may send me the King's orders to treat with them, and enter into the detail of their proposals. I said directly, I had sufficient orders; but they are bent upon having a positive assurance from you, and will not name themselves till then. I have, however, reason to believe they are people of consideration, and therefore thought I should not prevent the *Sieur Falaiseau* from going to you in a few days. He will give you a billet from me and explain his mission. He will arrive near the time when I hope to send the King the most exact detail I am able of the state of this country. The *Sieur Falaiseau* is of the pretended reformed religion; son of an advocate of Paris, of good family, and tolerably rich. He was with Mr. Dangeau at the Elector Palatine's, travelled to Modena, and afterwards came to England with him. It might be feared that he would tell Mr. Montagu what passes; but the persons of whom he speaks confide in him, and these sorts of intrigues cannot be carried on without hazarding something.

N^o II.

PROVOKED by the Princess of Orange's marriage, and probably trusting to the effects of these intrigues in England, Louis the XIVth rejected all the endeavours of Charles and the Duke of York to avoid a war with France; and in the spring of the year 1678, marched at the head of his troops into Flanders and took Ypres and Ghent. This forced Charles to send his troops abroad; and even the Duke of York, for a short time, appeared hearty for the war, hoping in his complaints against France to recover his popularity, and by taking the command of the army, if the war was forced on, to secure himself by a military force.

Barillon, in the following letter to Louis the XIVth, describes the state of the court of England at this time.

Letters from Barillon to his court, and from the Duke of York and Lord Danby, concerning the destruction in parliament which followed these intrigues.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 18th April, 1678.—State of the court of England.—The Duke of York intends by the army to establish the Catholic religion, and enlarge the royal authority.—In the Depot.

“ **T**HIS, Sire, is the state of the negociation here. If I depend upon public report, war will be instantly declared; but if I was to form a judgment (which is very hazardous in this country), I should

believe the war is only resolved on in case peace is not made in a few days, and that the King of England will not declare it whilst there remains the least hopes. The high Treasurer's aim is to procure money, and he would willingly encrease his master's authority. The Duke of York believes himself lost as to his religion, if the present opportunity does not serve to bring England into subjection; it is a very bold enterprize, and the success very doubtful. I believe they have persuaded this Prince that a war is more proper to accomplish his design than peace. He thinks that by declaring strongly against France, he will diminish the animosity against himself. This does not appease his enemies; he is more suspected than ever, and not less hated; his change with regard to your Majesty does not add to his reputation; many persons believe he will return to his former engagements with the same lightness with which he has quitted them. The King of England still wavers upon carrying things to extremity; his humour is very repugnant to the design of changing the government. He is nevertheless drawn along by the Duke of York and the high Treasurer; but at the bottom he would rather choose that a peace should leave him in a condition to remain in quiet, and re-establish his affairs, that is to say, a good revenue; and I do not believe he cares much for being more absolute than he is. The Duke and the Treasurer know well with whom they have to deal, and are afraid of being abandoned by the King of England on the first considerable obstacles they may meet with to the design of enlarging the royal authority in England."

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange during this state of uncertainty between France and England.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Mr. Hyde has got powers to finish the treaty with the Dutch.—An answer from France as to the terms of peace expected.

London, Dec. 24, 1677.

I WOULD not let this bearer Mr. Thinn go without writing to you by him, who his Majesty sends with powers and instructions to Mr. Hyde, to conclude what you have already approved of. As for Mr. Montague, we had news from him of his being at St. Germain's, but then he had not entered upon his business; we expect every moment to hear from him. I need say no more, this bearer being so fully instructed to inform you of all this.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Impatient for an answer from France.

London, Jan 3, 1677-8.

AT length this bearer, Lord Offory, has got leave to go to you, at which he is very well pleased, and will lose no tyme, and so goes tomorrow morning, being not willing to stay for the express we expect from France, though we look for him every hour, but I keep Cornwall here on purpose to send you word what the expresse will

bring, which will be either peace or war; and now that I have sayd this, I will not defer letting you know I do easily beleve the trouble you had for the losse of my sonne: I wish you may never have the like cause of trouble, nor know what it is to losse a sonne.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—France having refused the terms of peace, war is preparing.

London, Jan. 8, 1677-8.

YOU will now receive an account from this bearer, my Lord Ossory, of the answer his Majesty has had from France, by the which you will see we must prepare for a war, which we are doing here, with as little noise as we can, till the parliament meets, which you know is to be this day fennight, and we are hastening away as fast as possibly we can, the ships designed to strengthen our squadron in the Straights, which I hope may be ready to sail, wind and weather permitting, in ten days; and when they have joyned Sir J. Narborough, he will have with him 25 saile of men of war and two fire-ships, and we must encrease the number of fire-ships, so that if you encrease likewise the squadron you are now a sending thether, we shall, I hope, be master of that sea, for all the French are, or may be, so strong there; and it will be necessary to consider what force will be necessary to be masters in these seas, and to be in a condition of giving them trouble upon their sea coasts, which is all I shall need say to you now upon this subject: His Majesty saying he will write to you to desire you to send over somebody hither, to adjust and settle the plan of what is to be done at sea, and what number of ships will be necessary to be sett out, and their severall stations,

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations for war.

London, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

I BELIEVE this will still find you at the Hague, for by the last French letter which came yesterday, I do not find that King was yet upon his march, though all things in a readiness for it. Some will have it that he was determined to see what temper the parliament would be in before he undertook any thing; but I hardly believe he will stay for that now, that the parliament was adjourned this day till the 28 of this month; which was done for reasons which I believe you have been informed of: In the mean time we are preparing all things here for what may happen, and are recruiting all our old companys to one hundred each; and have given out orders for the raising of 24 new companys to make Lord Craven's, myne, and Lord Mulgrave's regiments 20 companys apiece.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince, proposing that the Duke should command the army that is to go over.—Uncertain if troops are to go.

London, Jan. 25, 1677-8.

I HAVE received just now yours by Lord Ossory, and do assure you I take very kindly the proposition you make to me in it, though as yett I can say nothing to you upon it, for till we know what the parliament and Spaniards will do, we cannot make any plan how or which way to carry on the war when we enter into it; and you will see, by what Mr. Hyde has to informe you of, what

what little probability there is of our having any men in Flanders, since, without Ostend, we cannot send a considerable body into that country.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the proceedings of the House of Commons, with regard to the preparations for the war.

London, Feb. 2, 1678.

BY the last post, or at least by this, you will have seen his Majesty's speech to both Houses, which one would have thought would have given all satisfaction, and that the House of Commons would have proceeded accordingly; but you will see by their address this day, now that his Majesty has done all they desired by their former address, how they chicane and fly off from what they have formerly said, attack the prerogative, and would impose upon his Majesty such things as cannot subsist with monarchy, and was never before pretended to by a House of Commons. I am sure it will be very good news for France, and I am confident, so soon as they hear of it, they will take new measures, and attack some place in Flanders, which may be, if the House of Commons had gone on vigorously in helping his Majesty with money for the carrying on of the war, they would have hardly done: But I hope that when his Majesty shall have answered their address, which he will do on Monday, that they will be ashamed of what they have done, and will yet make amends, and supply his Majesty as they ought to do, and he will put it home to them. I believe you will be very impatient for the next letters from hence, for by Tuesday's night one shall see what they will do.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—That party of the House of Commons which presses for a war refuses a supply.

London, Feb. 5, 1678.

BY the last letters I see you were not then come back to the Hague, but were expected there that night or the next day: I believe you will be very impatient to know how affairs go here; you will by this post have a copy of his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Commons, which was given them yesterday morning, for all which they go on but very slowly, and those who seemed to be most zealous for a war with France last sessions, are those who obstruct most the giving of a supply; and it has been all his Majesty's servants in the House have been able to do, to get a vote with great pains and wranglings, and that at six o'clock this night, for a supply for the maintenance of the alliance with Holland, and the preservation of Flanders. To-morrow they are to proceed to the sum it shall be, which I am afraid will be much disputed and lessened, as much as the ill people can get it; and without a very considerable one, we shall be able to go on but very lamely with the war. But we must do as well as we can, and till this money matter be settled, we can make no farther preparations than those we have already.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, Feb. 8, 1678.

I WOULD not let this bearer Cornwell go back without writing to you by him. I have kept him here a great while, thinking to have had something of consequence

sequence to write by a sure messenger, but I would not keep him any longer. Things here go but slowly on; for, though the House of Commons voted yesterday that they would provide money for ninety ships, and to day the same for thirty thousand land men, yett I feare they may be so long about raising a fonds for the maintenance of them, that we shall be able to do little this yeare, for till there be a certainty of the mony, we cannot go in hand with the fitting of more ships, or raising more men than those we have already, and I am sure no tyme shall be lost when we can once go to worke.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King's bad opinion of Buckingham.

London, Feb. 9, 1678.

WHEN I wrote yesterday to you by Mr. Cornwall I had but little time to say any thing to you, nor have I much more now by this bearer Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you about affairs of great concern, as you will find when he speaks with you; of which it is not necessary for me to say any thing, but that we shall expect your answer with great impatience. In the mean time, I believe you will have been surprized with the news of the Duke of Buckingham's having leave to come to court; I am sure I was, for I knew nothing of it till he had been with his Majesty; but his Majesty knows him too well to let him do any harme.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops are to be sent to Ostend and Newport; but the Spanish create difficulties.

London, Feb. 13, 1678.

I DID not write to you by the post of yesterday, because I designed to write to you by this bearer Lord Offory, and then I was willing to see what the Marquis de Bourgemaine would say; for though he received his letters on Monday morning, he kept it a secret to those he should have acquainted with it in the first place, till last night, that he said something to his Majesty of it, and this morning he gave in the writing (a copy of which you have seen) about Ostend, but would call it nothing but a paper, and did so carry himself with those appointed to treat with him, that he gave them little satisfaction, and does not advance the work at all, and I do not understand his politick when time is so precious to them; but it shall not be our faults if we do not immediately send some men both to Newport and Ostend.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Glad of the million vote of the House of Commons.

London, Feb. 19, 1678.

I RECEIVED yesterday a letter from you by the post, and just now one from you by Godolphin, but have not yet had time to speak with him about the business he went to you on, and shall not before the post goes, it being now late; but I believe I shall sooner than the next post have an opportunity of writing to you; for except M. Van Buning can prevail with the Marquis de Bourgemain to be more reasonable than he is, his Majesty will be forced to send one over to treat with the

Duke de Villahermosa about the affair of Ostend, in which he has yet done nothing, notwithstanding the orders he has had, though we have pressed him to it. I have not time to say more, nor to give you an account of the good vote passed yesterday in the House of Commons, and only can assure you it shall not be our faults here if things be not done as you can desire. We shall now go in hand to raise the rest of our men to compleat them to the number designed.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons delay the supply.

London, Feb. 22, 1678.

BY the letters come this day from the Hague, I find you are gone to the army upon the news of the French being come towards Namur. I am sorry we go so slowly on in our preparation; it is now near a month that the parliament have sat, and yet not so much as a money bill got ready. I hope this alarum of this seige will quicken them, and that M. de Bourgemaine will no longer make any delays, which have proved so prejudicial to his master's affairs; for so soon as he will but say it, we are ready to send our men for Ostend and Newport; and when once any of the money bills are so far advanced as we can get credit upon them, no time shall be lost, and then you shall hear farther from me.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of Spain and the House of Commons;—is to go over himself with the army.

London, March 3, 1678.

IT was but yesterday morning that I received your's of the 5th from Mecklin, and I assure you was very sensibly touched with it, and am as sensible as you can desire

desire I should, of the condition you are in. If the parliament or the Spaniards had done their parts as they should, things had been, I am confident, in a better condition than they are now, but one must think of what is to come. This goes to you by Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you to inform you how things are here, and to consult with you what now is to be done. We did not hear till this day of Ghent's being taken; and at the desire of the Marquis de Bourgemaine, his Majesty has ordered the two battalions that are at Ostend of our troops to go to Bruges, and we are sending twelve companies to Ostend; and you may be assured nothing shall be wanting that we can do to support your interest. Commissions are now giving out to raise more men; and as soon as we can get a considerable body together, I intend to go over with them to you; and it will not be long before I send over somebody to you to adjust that affair with you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King refuses to raise foreign troops.—Is to raise more troops at home.—The Duke impatient to go over.

London, March 8, 1678.

SINCE Godolphin went I have received two from you, the first of the 10th from Mecklin, and the other of the 14th from Boom; by the last of which I see you believe the French were gone to besiege Ipres, which proves to be so, we having had letters by the way of Calais of its actually being besieged. I must confess I was glad to hear they were gone thither; for by what one can judge at this distance, I was of opinion they might have taken either Bruxelles or Bruges, for that you could not cover both of them; but I am sorry to find by what you say, that Ipres is as bad a place, for I

was in hopes that place might have held out some tyme, and given you some breathing time, at least I hope it will give you leisure to secure the other two places I mentioned. As to what you proposed concerning getting some German troops, I shewed his Majesty your letter, who bids me tell you he had no money to spare for it, and that had he any, it should be made use on to raise more troops here. As for those we are raising, the commissions are but now given out, which would have signified nothing to have been done sooner; for till this day that the poll bill passed the House of Commons, no money could be got; and to-morrow or next day the levy money will be given to the several colonels, who are obliged to have their regiments compleat in six weeks tyme: And you may be sure I shall do my part to hasten things all I can, being very desirous to be with you. I see you had already heard of some of our troops being landed at Ostend; we have yet but two battalions there, which ought to be eight hundred each, and we have twelve companies more ready to embarke so soon as the wind changes, which is all we can spare at present, till our new levies begin to come in; for we must not leave this town with fewer troops in it than there are at present.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The army is raising fast.—The Duke is to go over.—The popular party obstruct the war.

London, March 12, 1678.

THERE are no letters come this day from beyond sea, so that we are very ignorant of what passes at Ipres, or any where else; in the mean time we are preparing all things here as fast as we can, to be in a condition

dition of helping you. The commissions and levy money are given out, and the officers are gone down into their respective countries to raise their men, and I make no doubt that their several regiments will be soon compleated and at the rendezvous, which will be for most of them about this town, and some near Harwich for the convenience of embarking them. They have six weeks time given them for the raising of their men, but I hope most of them will have their men together sooner; and now within a few days, I intend to send one to you to adjust all things with you, both as to the place and time of our landing. To-morrow I hope the poll bill will pass both Houses, but the House of Commons go on but very slowly in their other money bills; however, we must do as well as we can, and work through many difficulties which disaffected, and those of the republican party raise every day.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party refuse money and obstruct the levies.

London, March 19; 1678.

I SEE by yours of the 22, that you were still at Boom, and that things continue in as ill a condition where you were, as when I heard last from you, and I am sorry to tell you that things do not mend here at all since Godolphin went hence; for though the poll bill be past both Houses, and will have his Majesty's assent to it to-morrow, yet that will prove but an inconsiderable sume to what we must have to maintain so many men and ships as we have, and are to have in pay; and most people believe this bill will produce cleere to his Majesty not above three hundred thousand pounds; and for any other money bill, there is none in hand but that for taxing the new buildings, and it is uncertain whether that will pass

in the House of Commons, there being so many of the members concerned in it; and truly the temper of the House seems not to be good, and looks as if some of them minded more how to get the power from the King than any thing else; however, our levies go on very well, though some of the same persons do endeavour to obstruct them; and our horse, which I thought would have been the longest a raising, will be the soonest ready, there being severall troupes of horse that have already their full number and well mounted.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons will not give money for the war.—The Duke expects war for certain.

London, March 22, 1678.

I Received last night yours by Godolphin, who has given me an account of what you had charged him with, and am cleerly of your mind, and what you desire must be done, and his Majesty will have a positive answer by the end of the Easter holidays, till which time I believe the parliament will adjourn some tyme the beginning of next week, and I am absolutely of your opinion, knowing the temper of the French, that we must have a war, and I wish the House of Commons would do their part, as well as we shall do ours for the carrying it on, for the levys go on very fast, and we are setting out more ships every day; but they have such groundless jealousies in their heads, that they make no advances in the providing the rest of the money: However, I intend very soon to send one over to you to adjust all things with you. I believe you will have a more particular account from lord treasurer of all things, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Appears heartily
for the war.*

London, April 2, 1678.

THIS bearer, Churchill, whom his Majesty sends over to you, to adjust all things with you and the Spaniards, concerning our troops, is so fully instructed in all points that concern it, that, as to that, I shall refer myself to him, and to what he shall say to you upon that subject; but now that I am writing to you, I must say something to you which Mr. Hyde has, by this post, orders to communicate to, and press Mr. Fagel in; it is that we are afraid, by what Mr. Vanbuninge sayde two days ago to me, that the squadron you have now at Cadiz, under the command of Eneston, might, either upon the newse of the French having quitted Messina, or for want of being payd by the Spaniard, come back for Holland, which, if it should be, would be very prejudicial to us all, for then the French would be absolute masters at sea in the Mediteranian, and not only destroy both your trade and ours, but also very much trouble and molest the Spaniard in all their coasts and islands in that sea, for our squadron, which is there, will not alone be strong enough to deale with the French, for at this time we have but 22 men of war and two fire-ships there, and can spare no more from hence, but then to make them up 25 men of war and five fire-ships. I hope you will consider this, and the ill consequences which may in all likelihood happen, should your squadron come away, and therefore I hope you will, so soon as may be, send orders to them to stay, for you cannot imagin how necessary it is for us they should remain there to joyne with our squadron, especially now that we are so neare declaring of a war, which will now be done upon the least

least encouragement from you, and the States doing their parts.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Expects common measures by the Dutch, Spaniards, and the Emperor, for the conduct of the war.

London, April 7th, 1678.

BEFORE this you will have received mine by Churchill, for I hear he went from the Downs on Friday morning, and believe he got that night to Flushing. This goes to you by an express which his Majesty sends to Churchill, to give him instructions to speake to you about the troops which are at Bruges, I mean the English, which we have no mind to lose, being above four battalions of our old regiments; and we are apprehensive here that the first thing the French will do will be to besiege that place, and the rather because our men are in it; and if he should take them prisoners of warr, it would be a very great flaw to us, and I am confident he would willingly venture the losing a thousand or two of his men to take our old regiments; so that except the Spaniards or you would put more men into it, I fear those we have there will run the hazard of being lost: I hope you will consider of this, and either put so many men into it, that may hinder the French from attacking it, or let us draw some of our men out of it, for I fear, should it once be besieged, it could not well be relieved. I am sure I need say no more to you of this, since I know you will do what is best for the common good, and besides Churchill will speake more at large to you about it. We are very impatient to have the next letters from Holland, hoping, that before the Houses sit again, that Mr. Vanbuning may have powers to treat with us here, and the Emperors and Spanish envoys; for you know we can do nothing without you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the delays of the Dutch.—Anxious that the war should go on, that the King may get money.

London, April 16, 1678.

THIS bearer, Godolphin, goes so fully instructed, and can give you so true an account of all things here, that it is not necessary for me to say much to you in this letter, yet I cannot forbear saying to you, that all honest men were both surpris'd and troubled at the delay has been made by the States in the matter of the treaty here; you see that that was the only cause of the adjourning of the parliament yesterday, but I hope that your going to the Hague will make them take good and vigorous resolutions for the carrying on of the war, and that Mr. Vanbuning will receive orders accordingly before the Houses meet againe. It is of the last importance to us, and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, considering the temper of the nation, and the ill condition his Majesty's affairs must be in for want of money.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Princess of Orange has miscarried.—More troops to be sent over.

London, April 19, 1678.

I WAS very sorry to find by the letters of this day from Holland, that my daughter has miscarried; pray let her be carefuller of herself another time: I will write to her to the same purpose. I am also sorry to find by your letter that the Spaniards have so few men that they can send no more troops into Bruges; but since that cannot be, we shall send immediately two battalions more thither, as you advise.

There is in King William's box the following letter, on the same subject with those of the Duke of York, from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange, but not published by his Lordship with his other letters.

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—State of the King and Parliament.

London, Feb. 8, 1677-8.

HIS Majesty finds such great discouragements both from the dilatory proceedings of the parliament, and the untoward actings of the Spaniard with him, that your Highness will find by Mr. Godolphin, hee is in hopes of little good but by a peace, and I must confesse our appearances promise little good by a war.

Hee thinkes this peace may bee had by giving the King of France some other place for Tournay, and can himselfe thinke only upon Charlemont, as a place the Spaniard may best spare; but I find they would rather have Luxembourg or Ypres, and will not to me owne lesse than both those places in lieu of Tournay, and I believe his Majesty knows no more than myselfe in this matter. Whatever your Highness's opinion may bee of the proposition, I do assure you there is no cause from it to feare any alteration in the King from the measures he has taken with your Highness, so that when your Highness knows the true state of things here, if you shall not approve the having such conditions offered to France, you may bee confident you will heare no more of them, but (as I have formerly writt to your Highness) if the King cannot have Ostend for a port where to land his men and lay magazines, you are never to expect any succours of men
from

from us in Flanders: For my owne part, I know not what either to wish or advise in this case; on the one hand the nation expecting a war from us, and yett on the other move so slowly towards one, that at best we cannot expect to have any considerable force in readinesse before May, and not certain how long that shall bee supported. I pray God you may advise the best, because I am sure wee shall go along with you in your fortunes, to which no man wishes more prosperity than myselfe, who am your Highnesse's most eternally faithfull servant. D.

No. III.

Letters from Monsieur Barillon, to the French court, and Charles II. to Louis XIV. concerning an intended secret money treaty with France in the year 1678; and shewing the intrigues by which Charles, who meant to dupe France, was duped by her in the peace of Nimeguen, together with letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange at that period.

NOtwithstanding the appearance of hostilities between England and France, it appears from Lord Danby's letters (which are published) that during most of this time Charles and Louis were treating of a general peace, the price of which was to be a great sum of money given by the last to the first of these princes. This, together with the obstructions to the preparations for the war, created by the popular party in the House of Commons, made it easy for Louis to buy off the seeming ardour of Charles and the Duke of York for the war.

It appears by Barillon's dispatches, that a private and separate treaty for this purpose was begun in the beginning

of May, 1678, and in a few days concluded. The general outline of it, as intended by France, was, that Charles should stand neuter in the war if the allies should refuse the terms of peace which France had offered at Nimeguen a few weeks before; should not assemble his parliament for six months; should disband his army; and should receive six millions of livres from France.

Barillon writes to his court, 12 May, 1678, "The King himself will sign the treaty, none of his subjects are bold enough to do it."

On the 17th May, 1678, Charles writes the following letter of congratulation to Louis the XIVth, on the prospect of the treaty.

Translation.

Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, 17th May, 1678.—Congratulates him on the private treaty they are making together.

"SIR, my brother. It is an extreme joy to me to find that the occasion of renewing that friendship which seemed likely to be interrupted, presents itself so favourably and certainly, and that I have had the happiness to contribute to the peace of Christendom so much as I have done by the articles which the Sieur de Rouvigny carries to you. As you act entirely in this peace for your glory, I receive it also as the most particular effect that could have been shewn me of your good will towards me, seeing it lays the foundations of a friendship which I hope will last as long as it shall please God to let us live. The circumstances of my affairs have obliged me to finish with your ambassador in an extraordinary manner, because the secret is of the greatest importance to me and to my affairs; I therefore earnestly pray that
nothing

nothing be said of it, till I let your ambassador know that the whole may be public without prejudice to me. I have desired the Sieur de Rouvigny to speak to you upon all my concerns, for which I depend on your friendship, knowing how much and how fully you ought to be assured of mine. So, I pray God, Sir, my brother, to keep you in his holy protection. Your good brother,

(Signed) CHARLES."

On the 22d May, Barillon writes, that an embarrassment had happened in putting the terms of the treaty into writing; for that Charles made a scruple of signing a treaty which formally obliged him to prorogue his parliament and to disband his army. To remove this, Barillon proposed that these two articles should not be contained in that part of the treaty which was to be signed by Charles; but that there should be a separate article to be signed by Barillon alone, whereby it was to be provided that Louis should not pay the six millions of livres, until Charles had prorogued his parliament and disbanded his army.

Upon this plan the treaty was executed on the 27th May, 1678; a copy of which is in the *Depot* at Versailles, as follows:

Translation.

Treaty with the King of England of the 27th of May, 1678.—Charles is to stand neuter if the allies refuse the terms of peace offered by France; is not to assemble his parliament for six months; is to disband his army; and to receive six millions of livres from France.—In the Depot.

"THE King of England having lately been required and strongly solicited by the States General to employ his good offices with his most Christian Majesty to

to prevail with him to consent that the project of peace given at Nimeguen by his ambassadors may receive no change during two months, and that the taking of the places which his most Christian Majesty's arms have occupied since the said project in the Low Countries and other parts, or that shall be hereafter occupied by them, may not hinder the States General and their allies from accepting of the same project within the said time of two months. This requisition of the said States General, and the reiterated instances they have made to his Britannic Majesty, have engaged him to employ every means in his power with his most Christian Majesty, who, in consideration of his Britannic Majesty's offices, and the more to show the sincere desire he hath to contribute on his part to every thing that can facilitate the conclusion of a peace, hath consented, and agreed with his Britannic Majesty, by the *Sieur de Barillon*, privy counsellor of state to his said most Christian Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary to his Britannic Majesty, authorised by a sufficient power, upon what follows.

First: In case the project of peace offered at Nimeguen in the month of April last by his most Christian Majesty's ambassadors is not accepted in two months from the day of the signing the present treaty, by the States General, and by *Mr. de Villaformosa*, or one of them, his Britannic Majesty engages to remain in perfect neutrality as long as the present war shall last, and not to assist, directly or indirectly, either by sea or by land, with ships, men or money, the Spaniards or the States General, or any of their allies, against his most Christian Majesty and his allies.

Secondly: For the execution of the neutrality to which his Britannic Majesty obliges himself, he promises as soon as two months are expired, to recall the troops he sent into Flanders, 3000 men always excepted, which
his

his Britannic Majesty reserves to be left in garrison at Ostend, without contravention to the present treaty; which number of 3000 men shall not be augmented in any case, nor go out of the said town, but only be employed to preserve the place.

Thirdly: In case the States General incline to accept fully the project of peace which has been communicated by his most Christian Majesty's ambassadors at Nimeguen, they shall be bound, within the term of two months above mentioned, to put into his most Christian Majesty's hands a formal instrument by which the said States General are to testify their agreeing to the said propositions of peace, and to declare that whether they be or be not agreed to by all their allies, they will remain in an entire neutrality with regard to France, without giving directly or indirectly any assistance to its enemies, either by land or sea, or by ships, troops or money, so long as the present war shall last; and on default of this instrument being furnished within the said time by the said States General, they shall not be deemed to have accepted the project of peace; and in this case his Britannic Majesty shall be bound to all the clauses and conditions contained in the first and second articles aforesaid.

Fourthly: When the principal conditions of the peace have been agreed on, and accepted by all the parties interested, conformable to the project offered by his most Christian Majesty, they shall be sent back to Nimeguen, there to be reduced, extended, and signed in form of a treaty by the ambassadors plenipotentiary and ministers of the said interested parties; and also then shall be adjusted at Nimeguen the other things of less consequence, and which always follow more important interests.

Fifthly: In execution of the peace concerning the places which shall have been taken in the Low Countries
or

or elsewhere since the offering the project at Nimeguen in the month of April last, they shall be restored on both sides.

Sixthly: His most Christian Majesty, conformable to the requisition made to him by his Britannic Majesty, promises to give the Prince of Orange the free enjoyment of all his estates situated in his said most Christian Majesty's dominions, and also the principality of Orange, after the States General shall have accepted the said project of peace.

All that is above has been consented to and agreed upon between the King of England and the said ambassador, and signed with his said Britannic Majesty's hand; and he promised and promiseth to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravention, and obligeth himself to furnish his ratification sealed with the great seal of England, in the space of two months from this day.

In like manner the said Sieur de Barillon, counsellor of state to his said most Christian Majesty, and ambassador to his said Britannic Majesty, hath signed the present treaty, and promiseth in the name of the King his master to furnish the ratification of it sealed with the great seal, in the same space of two months. Done at London the 27th May, 1678.

(Signed) CHARLES and an R. Underneath,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

Separate Article.

I, THE underwritten Ambassador of France, promise to his Britannick Majesty, in the name of the King my master, to cause to be paid to him the sum of
fix

six millions of livres tournois ; the first payment of which shall be three millions; and immediately made after the two months expressed in the treaty signed this day ; the other three millions shall be paid quarterly and by equal portions, every three months in the year succeeding the abovementioned first payment, upon express condition that as soon as the two months expire, to be computed from this day, his Britannick Majesty shall recall all the troops he has in Flanders, reserving 3000 men destined for Ostend ; and upon condition also that all the troops which his Britannick Majesty has newly raised, shall be disbanded immediately after their arrival in his dominions, 3000 always excepted destined for Ostend, and 3000 more which his Britannick Majesty intends to send into Scotland ; and also upon condition that his Britannick Majesty shall prorogue his parliament for at least four months, to be computed from the expiration of the two months, within which the project delivered at Nimeguen is to be accepted ; nor shall his most Christian Majesty be held to begin the payment of the three first millions, till after his Britannick Majesty shall have prorogued his parliament for four months, recalled his troops from Flanders, and disbanded those that have been newly raised, as is herein before mentioned: Done at London, 27 May, 1678.

(Signed)

BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

There is also in the Depot the following dispatch of Barillon enclosing the treaty, which shews how it had been conducted, and the great consequence of it to France.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Account of his method of conducting the private treaty of 27th May, 1678.—In the Depot.

S I R E,

28th May, 1678.

“ M^R. de Rouvigny carries your Majesty the copy of the treaty which was signed yesterday by his Britannick Majesty. Your Majesty will see that your orders have been followed in every thing that is essential. What may have been changed in the terms and the manner, was not important enough to retard the conclusion of an affair, the consequences of which are so considerable. The sum of six millions will be paid on the terms prescribed by your Majesty. I have promised this sum upon the express condition that the parliament shall be prorogued for four months ; that the troops should be recalled from Flanders, and that those which are newly levied shall be disbanded. It was impossible for me to dispense with consenting that 3000 men of the new troops, intended to be sent into Scotland, should be kept on foot : I resisted a long time : but it did not appear to me to be of great consequence whether the King of England had 3000 men more or less on foot ; and a longer resistance on my part would have given suspicion here, that your Majesty wanted to hinder his Britannick Majesty from re-establishing his authority in a country which is almost in rebellion.

It was also absolutely impossible to bring the King of England to sign a treaty obliging him to prorogue his parliament and disband his troops, but the expedient that was fallen on produced the same effect ; for I have promised the payment of the sum your Majesty grants him,
only

only after both these conditions shall have been executed: A prorogation of four months (which will not commence till after the two months expressed in the treaty) gives time to work for procuring the dissolution of parliament afterwards, and it will not be easy to resist here what your Majesty shall desire.

There are no secret articles; I have only given a conditional promise, which prevents asking any thing of your Majesty till the conditions are entirely accomplished. The King of England looked upon it as a thing that was of the last consequence in his country, that he should not promise to use his influence with the States General to accept the project of peace; but he obliges himself to remain neuter in case the project is not accepted in two months, in the form that your Majesty sent it; and I think this is sufficiently explained in the treaty.

It appears to me that the preface to the treaty is more advantageous to your Majesty, than if the King of England had made it appear that he pressed the States General to accept the project; it is on the contrary more conformable to the glory and dignity of your Majesty, that it should appear your enemies sought peace through the mediation of his Britannick Majesty.

Mr. de Rouvigny will give your Majesty an account of the dispute maintained by me during many days, to reduce all things even to the manner and the expressions, which your Majesty seemed to want; but after having obtained the fundamental and essential conditions, I thought it my duty not to let a negociation languish, the event of which might become doubtful.

Although I was not of opinion that they were in a condition here to prevent the States General from making peace, it might perhaps have been retarded and embarrassed with new difficulties; instead of which, after his Britannick Majesty's treaty, nothing can, in all ap-

pearance, hinder the States General from finishing what they have begun. It is always hazardous here, that a parliament, the greatest part of whose members are gained by the court, may take some resolutions of extremity, and give money under the pretence of a war against France. I should enlarge more upon this, if Mr. de Rouvigny, who is fully instructed, was not to give your Majesty an account of things. I thought it was for your service not to defer any longer the conclusion of a treaty, which places your Majesty in an entire certainty of making a peace much more glorious in all its circumstances than any other that has been ever heard of. Your Majesty, who is more enlightened than any body, will also better know the present advantages of it, and those which may be drawn from it for the future.

The King of England desires much that what he has done may remain secret for some time, in order that he may be able to make it appear to parliament, that the States put him under an absolute necessity of making peace, and that he may thereby endeavour to draw some money from them for disbanding the troops. I believe, besides, that his Britannick Majesty is willing that the Prince of Orange should gain some merit in Holland by facilitating the conclusion of the peace, which till now he opposed. I do not doubt but the resolution taken here of making a treaty with your Majesty was communicated to him before-hand. His Britannick Majesty told me that nothing should be said of it to the Dutch ministers here; but I have had too long and too frequent conferences with the Lord Treasurer for them not to suspect something near the truth.

His Britannick Majesty told me also, that he would send to Brussels to press Mr. de Villafarmosa to conclude with your Majesty, and to accept the project of peace.

Although

Although I did not believe that the King of England's design was to miss the opportunity of making a treaty with your Majesty, I have had, nevertheless, within these two days, just reason to fear that the high Treasurer's design was to draw the affair into length, and put off a conclusion. He said to me, that the little experience he had in affairs of the nature of those we treated upon, had obliged him to entreat the King his master to join some one with him to assist him, and prevent his committing errors; and that his Britannick Majesty had named Mr. Temple, with whom he desired me to confer. I was much surpris'd, but thought I could not directly shew any repugnance. I went next morning to see Mr. Temple, whom I found in bed, feigning to be, or really sick. I judg'd it necessary to make an effort to prevent this obstacle, and press'd the King of England and the Duke of York very warmly to conclude, or to break off the treaty. I then threw in every facility that I could, and declared, if they did not accept my offers, that I would not sign more till I had new orders. The Duke of York took the affair up with warmth, and made the King of England give me his positive word that the affair should be concluded next day. The Duke of York appears greatly desirous to deserve the same share of your Majesty's good graces which he had heretofore: He conducted himself in the negociation as I could wish.

I am,

(Signed)

BARILLON.

Charles and the Duke of York kept this treaty a secret from the Prince of Orange; but pleaded the embarrassments which the popular party created to the preparations

A P P E N D I X

tions for the war, as an excuse for their not going into it.

To this purpose there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in King William's cabinet.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Opposition in parliament prevents the sending over more troops.

London, May 3, 1678.

I DID not write to you last post, having nothing very pleasing to say to you, nor have I now, for things here go very oddly on, and as yet neither House has given any answer or advice upon what his Majesty ordered the Lord Chancellor to say to both Houses; and instead of that, they are in the House of Commons finding fault with the treaties, speaking against the ministers, and doing nothing as they should do; so that one does not know whether they would have peace or war; which proceeding of theirs has so discouraged the monied men, that the paymaster of the army has been very much put to it to find money, which is the cause the two regiments designed for Bruges are not yet embarked; but this day money is sent to them to pay off their quarters, and they will embarke on Monday without fail, and nothing but the same reason will hinder us from sending more over every day; for now all our men are raised, and the several regiments of horse, foot and dragoons, will be compleat at their several quarters by the end of next week at farthest; but without a certain prospect of more money, there will be no venturing them beyond sea to starve.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The war must stop on account of the opposition in parliament.—Anxious about the future.

London, May 7, 1678.

I RECEIVED this day your's of the 3d from the Hague, and before now you will have had an answer to what M. Van Lewen brought hither, by the which you will have seen what our intentions were here; but now I believe you will be very much surprized and troubled at what has passed this day in the House of Commons, when, instead of doing what they should do for the publick good, they have fallen upon all the ministers, and ordered an address to be prepared for his Majesty, to desire they may be removed from his person, to which they have by name added the Duke of Lauderdale; so that you see how affairs are like to go here, and that there will be no possibility of carrying on the war now, that the factious party in the House of Commons does prevail; it is necessary for me to say this to you, that you may take your measures accordingly, and you must expect to hear of great disorders here, they are not to be avoided.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party intend to engage the King in a war, and leave him in it without helping him.

London, May 10, 1678.

IN my last I gave you an account of the ill condition of our affairs here, which grow worse every day, and this day the House of Commons have compleated their address to his Majesty for the removing from him at once all his ministers, to which they have added by name the

the Duke of Lauderdale; which is such a way of proceeding as will discourage all the allies, and make us here not know almost what to do, and this is but the forerunner of worse things; so that I do not see how the war can be carried on, it being visible that the chief design of the ill people here, is to engage the King in a war, that they may the easier ruin him, so that I believe we shall be forced to a peace. I do not say that it is positively resolved on, and therefore thought it very necessary to let you know so much, that you may take your measures accordingly.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Fault of parliament makes peace necessary.—His anxiety about the future.

London, May 14, 1678.

I GAVE you an account in my two last of the state of affairs as they then were, which are not at all mended since; for the address I mentioned in one of mine was brought on Saturday last to his Majesty by the Commons, which so offended his Majesty, that the answer he gave then to it was, that it was so extravagant an address, that he was not willing speedily to give them the answer it deserved, and when you see a copy of it, you will find it did not deserve a better answer; and yesterday, to show his farther displeasure to the Commons, he prorogued both houses till the 23d of this month, in hopes by that time to bring them into a better temper, and had they continued sitting longer now, they would yet have been more troublesome. You see the temper we are in, and I have but a very ill prospect of affairs, and expect great disorders here, or at least great difficulties, so that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet at home; it is necessary for me to say this to you,

that

that you may not take wrong measures. The King will write to you himself, so that it is not necessary for me to say more upon that subject.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to peace.—Past and present state of things in England.—His anxiety for the future.

London, May 21, 1678.

I RECEIVED this afternoon your's of the 27th from Honflardike, by the which I see you are resolved to stay thereabouts till you hear whether the French will accept of the suspension of arms. I think you do very well in it, for besides there is but little good to be done or hoped for in Flanders; I look upon your presence at the Hague to be very necessary, especially when the answer comes from the French by the deputies you have sent to them; for by what I hear from all hands, and even by what you said to Mr. Hyde, that the generality of the people, as well as some of the chief men amongst the States, are very much for a peace, or else those steps would not have been made that have been by them; and that being so, I would not have any thing of that kind be done in your absence; and since you see there is no possibility of carrying on the war as things now stand, in my opinion you ought not to appear against peace, but ought to go along with the inclinations of the people, and not lose your interest with them by opposing the peace, which will be whether you will or no; for as to Spain, you know as well as I the miserable condition they are in; and as to us here, you see how little is to be expected from hence by what past the other day in the last session; so that his Majesty was forced to prorogue them, and now they are to meet again on Thursday, and

I fear they will be very disorderly, and that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet here at home; for now the ill men in the House strike directly at the King's authority; and should we have been engaged in a war now, they would have so imposed upon the King, as to leave him nothing but the empty name of a King, and no more power than a Duke of Venice; and how long they would have let him have that name, the Lord knows: I am sure it would not have been long. I say this to you, to let you see how necessary peace is, and how impossible it is for you to carry on the war. You see his Majesty was very willing to have entered into the war, and did his part towards it, and has now actually ready all his land forces, and by the end of this month or the beginning of the next, will have ninety ships at sea: But you see the parliament, I should say the House of Commons, in five months time have done nothing towards it, but given the poll bill, which may be worth three hundred thousand pounds once paid, and taken away so much a year; and instead of giving any farther supply, have done nothing but fallen upon the ministers, and declared they would give no more money till they had satisfaction in matters of religion: What effects such proceedings have had where you are you know best, and how they will end nobody knows. I could not help saying all this to you, to inform you how things are here, that you may take your measures accordingly, and not run on in measures that may be very prejudicial to our family; and as things now are, the continuance of the war would, in my opinion, both ruin you in Holland, and us here. You see I speak my mind very freely to you, I am obliged to do it out of the kindness and concern I have for you. I know such a peace as is offered is a very hard one both for you and us to submit to; however, I see no remedy: And do not exasperate
France,

France, that may be of use to you. Pray let nobody see this letter, it is only wrote for you, and not fit for any body else to read or to know. I say so much to you; 'tis only my kindness has made me write it, and you may be sure I shall always continue it to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, May 24, 1678.

I HAVE just now received yours of the 31, from the Hague, and it is now so very late that I have time to say little to you. I see you wish more troops might be sent over into Flanders if they were ready, which they are, and have been all complete for some time; but the want of money has been such, that we could send over no more than those who are already there, which are 56 companies; and it has been with much difficulty that we got money enough to send down one regiment of foot, four troops of horse, and three of dragoons, into the north, being apprehensive of some disorders in Scotland; and to shew you how little regard is had to what is doing beyond sea, the House of Commons have done nothing these two days, and believe to-morrow they will fall upon finding fault with the Chancellor's speech; so little are their minds turned to what they should be, and I believe will fly higher than ever; so that you see it has not been his Majesty's fault things have not gone as they should.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons want the new-raised troops disbanded.—The Duke wants them kept on foot.

London, May 31, 1678.

THE letters are not yett come from Holland, so that we do not know how, what Monf. Van Bevering has brought to you, will be received, though no doubt is made of the acceptance of the cessation of arms by every body here, and the House of Commons are very earnest for the immediate disbanding of all the new-raised troops, as you will see by the vote they have made for that purpose; and this day they have busied themselves to make the calculation of what money will be necessary for the paying them off; which I thinke is very contrary to what ought to be done, and all the reasonable men I speake with are of the same opinion. To-morrow they are to consider of Lord Chancellor's speech; some say they will run into heats upon it, and fall upon him and some other of the ministers; I cannot say they will, to-morrow will shew us. You see by all that is done here in how unfit a temper we were to have entered into a war, for all the new raised troops are better than could have been expected, and I never saw so many good looked new men in my life, and I could not have believed the horse could have been so good as they are; 'tis pity they should be disbanded.

The backwardness of England made the Dutch take measures for a separate peace with France.

Upon this the Duke of York wrote the following ambiguous letter to the Prince of Orange, still concealing from

from him the secret engagement of England with France. The letter is in King William's cabinet.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—About the separate peace between Holland and France.—An ambiguous letter.

London, June 7, 1678.

I SEE by your letter you are very apprehensive of the ill consequence this peace may have where you are, as well as to us here. I know it is to be apprehended, as well as it could not be avoided, and it is well done to foresee dangers afar off, to provide the best one can against them; but as one does see them, so one must endeavour to provide the best one can against them, and to prepare one's self for the worst that may happen, not to be surpris'd if it should come to passe, but then one must not despaire and give over the game: And I am of opinion, if you take pains where you are to preserve your interest, and keep up your friends hearts, by being amongst them in the Hague, and not so much in the country, I am confident the faction which is against you will be able to do you little harme. You see I say my mind very freely to you, and am obliged to do it by the concerne I have for you. I have not time to say more to you now, but Sir W. Temple will be soon over with you, whom I shall instruct well with what is too long for a letter.

After Louis the XIVth had bought off Charles, and entered into a separate treaty with the Dutch, he thought he might behave as he pleas'd with regard to Spain, and therefore, instead of delivering up the Spanish towns in Flanders

Flanders as he had agreed to do, he insisted to keep possession of them until satisfaction should be made to his allies the Swedes. This breach of faith raised the indignation of almost all Europe against him, and clamours came from every quarter for Charles to join in a war with the allies for the preservation of the Netherlands.

Charles upon this once more seemed intent to join in a war against France, sent Sir William Temple to make a treaty with Holland, who, with the same rapidity with which he had finished the triple alliance, and perhaps as little to the liking of his master, concluded in six days a treaty with the Dutch to make war upon France, if in two months she did not, without any regard to the interests of Sweden, evacuate the Spanish towns. But it is probable that Charles meant to make use of this apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to get money from parliament, and to squeeze more money from France. The journals of parliament during this summer and autumn shew his struggles to disband his army and to get more supplies, under the pretence of his intending to join in a war against France. It appears from Barillon's dispatches, that Barillon several times gave warning to his court that more money would be asked from it. On the 23d July, 1678, he writes, that Charles had sent Lord Sunderland to France to make a compromise about Sweden. On the 28th July, 1678, he writes thus:—"I am persuaded that all the demonstrations of war which are made here will terminate in a treaty, if your Majesty will give subsidies to make England act in favour of Sweden." On the 1st of August Barillon writes, that Charles is endeavouring to form a treaty with France to get satisfaction for Sweden.

About the same time, Lord St. Alban's at Paris, by his master's command, presented a project to Louis for a

treaty between France and England in favour of Sweden, in consideration of which Charles was to get money for supporting a fleet and army. The project of the treaty follows.

Translation.

Proposals made by my Lord St. Alban.—England to get a subsidy for three years.—Is to maintain a fleet and army at the expence of France in favour of Sweden.—And to be neutral in Flanders.—In the Depot.

THAT his most Christian Majesty shall give a subsidy for three years, the first of which shall be six millions, and the other two four millions each; in consideration whereof his Britannic Majesty shall furnish fifteen ships and ten thousand foot to join the ships and troops of his most Christian Majesty which are to act in favour of the Swedes: That these fifteen ships shall be armed and equipped at his most Christian Majesty's expence, and his Britannic Majesty shall only furnish the bodies of the ships, and the number of cannon necessary for each, in proportion to the largeness of rate. The ten thousand infantry shall be paid by his most Christian Majesty as the English troops were which heretofore were in his pay; that the peace shall be made conformable to the project; that the difficulty about the country of Cleves shall be terminated to the satisfaction of the States General: In case the said States General, or the Spaniards do not make peace upon the project within three months, his Britannic Majesty will remain in an entire neutrality, and recall his troops that are in the Low Countries.

To these proposals is added, that a league should be made between England, the States General, and Sweden, for the guarantee of the treaty of peace, and maintain-
ing

ing the Low Countries in the state they are in, into which league it is thought France will enter, because his most Christian Majesty hath shewn he is willing to prevent for the future, all suspicions which England and the States General might have that his design was upon the first opportunity to finish the conquest of the Low Countries.

On the 8th August, 1678, Barillon writes thus:—
 “ He (Danby) represented to me that the war which England was to make in favour of the Swedes was entirely against the sentiments of the whole nation, and therefore his master could not undertake it without great succour from your Majesty.”

It is highly probable that France made use of these proposals of Charles for a treaty in favour of Sweden, to disappoint the treaty which Sir William Temple had lately made with the Dutch for forcing France to deliver up the towns in Flanders without attending to the interests of Sweden. From Sir William Temple's account of affairs at this time, it appears that Du Cros, the Duke of Holstein's envoy, disappointed this treaty by bringing news from the court of England into Holland of the connections of France and England in favour of Sweden. I did not see evidence in Barillon's letters that Barillon made use of Du Cros for this purpose. But the following circumstances make it probable: Several of Barillon's dispatches shew that Du Cros was in the year 1678 in the pay of France, and in the most intimate intelligence with Barillon. From Lord Danby's letters which are printed, it appears that Charles was enraged at Du Cros for the intelligence he had carried.

Sir

Sir William Temple relates that Charles said to him; "The rogue Du Cros has outwitted us all;" words, the consequence of which Temple did not perceive, because he was ignorant of the secret traffic of Charles with France concerning Sweden, to which they alluded. The Dutch, informed of the secret connections between Charles and Louis, instantly quitted the dangerous friendship of the first of these Princes, and in a hurry signed the peace of Nimeguen. And perhaps what shews as strong as any thing the consciousness of France of the low pass to which she had reduced Charles by betraying his double conduct to his allies, is, that when Charles asked payment of the first part of his pension provided for him by the above treaty of 27th May, 1678, France refused to pay him a penny. Barillon writes to his court on the 18th of August, 1678, that Lord Danby had asked payment of the pension stipulated; that he, Barillon, told him, that Charles had not kept his part of the terms of the treaty, and therefore was to have none of the pension. This letter, with two others of the 25th and 29th August, 1678, describes the anger of Charles and Lord Danby at losing the money by their own imprudence. In the letter of the 18th August, Barillon uses these words:—"They know now with much vexation, that they have lost a conjuncture of which it was easy for them to have profited."

The letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange immediately after France had refused to evacuate the towns till satisfaction was made to Sweden, and during the time of the secret negociation with France to serve Sweden, are in King William's cabinet. Perhaps they may create some doubt of that sincerity in the Duke's

character which he used so much to boast of, because they convey the idea to the Prince of Orange, that the Duke was equally zealous for the war against France at both these periods. The letters follow.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprise at bearing the French have refused to evacuate the towns.—Disbanding the army stopped.

London, June 21, 1678.

I HAD not time to write to you last post as I intended, having been kept so long at business that night, that when we had done it was too late to write; since when we have been very much alarmed by a letter from Sir L. Jenkins, in which he says the French make a difficulty of restoring the towns in Flanders to the Spaniards, till the Swedes have entire satisfaction; and now we are in very great expectation of the letters, which should have come this day, to know if the French persist still in that, their so unreasonable demand: In the mean time we have done our parts, as if it were so, for we have stopped twenty entire companies of foot of the new-raised men, and five hundred commanded men, that were ordered to go for Ireland, till we know the certainty of it. A courier also was sent yesterday to the ambassador at Paris to know the truth on't, and to expostulate the matter if so; and this day in the House of Lords we have lengthened the time for the disbanding of the new raised troops, and I hope the House of Commons will agree to that alteration, and before that time we shall in all likelihood know what to trust to.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Appears keen for war because towns not evacuated.

London, June 24, 1678.

THIS goes to you by Lord Ossory, whom the letters we had both from Nimeguen and the Hague, about the so unreasonable difficulties the French make, has hastened over to you, not knowing how soon you may fall into action again; and truly I expect it, for as the temper the King of France is, I do not thinke he would have let his ambassador at Nimeguen make those difficulties without his being resolved to stand by it, so that I look upon the war as certain if in Holland you do your parts, which I cannot doubt on, for his Majesty will stick firm to you for the restoring of those towns to the Spaniard, as you will find by Sir William Temple, whom his Majesty is dispatching away to you full instructed upon all that great affair; and I am glad we have had this time to exercise our new troops, for they are now much better than they were, and all know the use of their arms very well. Pray have a care of Dendremond as well as Antwerp,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 25, 1678.

I AM glad to hear your resolutions have been so vigorous; we shall stand by you for the restoring of the towns in Flanders and Maeftright, and are getting ready five battalions of foot to send to Bruges and Newport, which I hope will have a good effect always: They will be of eight companies each.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Sir William Temple sent to make a treaty with the Dutch.

London, June 27, 1678.

IT is not necessary for me to say much to you by this bearer, Sir William Temple, he going so fully instructed to you from his Majesty upon the affairs that are now in agitation, and I am confident you will be satisfied with what he has to say to you from his Majesty; and you will find how firmly you will be stuck to in case France does not acquiesce with what they had offered you; and let them now do what they please, I am confident it will have done them no good, and you will find your advantage by it; and I need not put you in mind of laying hold of this advantage they have given you, for I am sure you have done it already, and I hope you will not be so much out of the Hague as you have been for some time past; for I know by experience that nothing can do one so much good as being upon the place where all the business is done, when by being away one loses opportunities that may advance one's affairs, and cannot gain friends as may be as necessary for you as well as others. I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this affair, and refer it to him to enlarge upon it; for I am so concerned for you that I must say any thing to you that I think to be for your good, for you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 27, 1678.

I COULD not refuse this bearer, M. Van Leewen, to write to you by him, though I have already done it by Sir William Temple; his Majesty having thought fit he should go back into Holland, the better to persuade the States of his readiness to stick by them in case France continue in their unreasonable demands; and I hope his going at this time will have a very good effect; since I find he is now of the mind he should be.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops sent over.
—The parliament is giving money.*

London, July 5, 1678.

YOU will before this have had Sir William Temple and M. Van Leewen with you, and I hope they will have satisfied both you and the States with his Majesty's good intentions to stick by you, if you will take vigorous resolutions, which I hope you will, notwithstanding the loss M. de Loraine has had of some of the troops endeavouring to relieve Reinfeld, of which before this you know the particulars; but we are not yet informed of them, and if it has no ill effect where you are, I am sure it will have none here; and in my mind it ought to make you adhere firmly to your resolutions, for else at Vienna it might have an ill effect. This day a battalion of eight companies embarked at Blackwall for Newport, and this day also another sets sail from Portsmouth for the same place, and three battalions more will be embarked by Tuesday next for Newport and Bruges; so that when they are landed, we shall have ninety-six companies of
foot

foot in Flanders, which will make upwards of 9000 men, and when it is necessary, more shall be ready to follow. The parliament draws now to an end, and will I hope conclude well, for many of the angry men are gone out of town, and I am told the money bill will come up to the Lords on Monday or Tuesday next, and when that is once past, we shall soon rise.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Waits for steps to be taken by the Dutch.

London, July 8, 1678.

I RECEIVED last night your's of the 12th from the Hague, and can now say but little to you in answer to it, only that if you do your parts we shall do ours, so that it absolutely depends upon what is done where you are; for it is not to be expected that we should make any farther step till we are sure of you, which I hope is done by this upon Sir William Temple's arrival with you. I write this by Lord Ossory, who is just a going away; he can inform you of all things here, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you of the continuance of my kindness.

Pray have a care of Antwerp and Dendermond.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 12, 1678.

ALL things depend upon the resolution where you are, for here we are all ready, and the money bill is past, which is all we could expect till we be actually entered into the war. We shall, I believe, end this sessions on Monday next, but though I believe we shall not meet till towards

towards winter, yet the Houses will, I think, only be adjourned for a fortnight or three weeks, so that if there should be need for them sooner than towards winter we might have them: This is only my opinion, but will not be positively resolved on till Sunday. Mr. Montagu is in disgrace, and his Majesty ordered this day his name to be put off the council book, and is sending immediately away Lord Sunderland, ambassador to Paris, in his room.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Desires plan of war to be adjusted.

London, July 17, 1678.

“WE have been so encouraged by the last letters from Holland, and see such likelihood of the war, that his Majesty has desired this bearer, the Marquis de Bourgmain, to go over to you to agree with you and the Duke de Villahermoza, of the plan of the war for the remainder of this campaign, in case we enter into it, of which I do not doubt, since I make none of your agreeing to Sir William Temple’s proposals: Lord Feverham goes too.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 18, 1678.

“HIS Majesty having thought fit to send Lord Feverham along with the Marquis de Bougermaine to you, to adjust all things with you concerning the war in case it continues, as now I believe it will; I would not let him go without writing to you by him, though he be fully instructed of all things here: What I have to say
I refer

I refer to him, and have also charged him to assure you of the continuance of my kindneſſe to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Promiſes vigour in the war.

London, July 19, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this afternoon two of yours, of the 19 and 26; by the laſt of which I was very glad to find the treaty was ſigned; but there are ſome things wanting in it, and others which will require being explained, as you will know more at large from Sir W. Temple, to which I am ſure you will give your helping hand that they may be agreed to; in the mean time we are ſending over, as faſt as we can, two thouſand horſe and dragoons, but you cannot expect them at ſoonest till after the term prefixed be expired, we having not thoſe conveniences here that you have where you are for embarking of horſes, and till the war be declared we cannot let you have any of our foot to join your army, which cannot be till thoſe points you will hear off be agreed to; in the mean time no time ſhall be loſt in preparing every thing to carry on the war with vigour."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Is to go over with the troops himſelf, if needful.

London, July 26, 1678.

"I RECEIVED two days ſince your's from Vilvorde, by the which I ſee you were come to your army, and were reſolved to ſee what could be done for the redeeming of Mons. I hope upon the intelligence you have had of their being able to hold out ſome time, that you will not yet hazard any thing, and the M. de Bourgemaine

gemaine and the Earl of Fevershem, who have been with you before this, will have persuaded you to it, in case the place be no more prest than we hear it is; and that which makes me more desirous you should not yet hazard any thing, is, that upon his Majesty having read your letter, he has commanded me to tell you, that he will get in readiness what troops can be spared from hence, besides those that are already in Flanders, to join with you in case the French do not conclude the peace in the time prefixed, being resolved if they will not evacuate the towns to prosecute the war vigorously; and that no time may be lost, in case it must be war, the Duke of Monmouth is to go from hence on Sunday for Bruges to have the troops that are already there in readiness to march if the war goes on; and I shall take care for the embarking of those that are yet here as soon as possible, and be ready to go over with them myself if occasion be. It was thought necessary to let you know this, even before we heard from Lord Feversham, that you might take your measures accordingly. We have now ready in Flanders fourteen battalions of foot, as many of which shall be ready to march at a day's warning if the peace be not made, as you and the Spaniards shall think fit; besides which, we have two battalions of foot more, and 3000 horse and dragoons to be embarked from hence by the end of next week: The horse and dragoons you may reckon to be effective, and each battalion of foot to be about seven hundred. When my nephew comes to Bruges you will hear from him.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent over.

London, July 29, 1678.

“ I RECEIVED your’s from the camp at Grimberg of the 2d of August, before Lord Feversham came hither; and last night my nephew the Duke of Monmouth went for Ostend, and the wind is so fair I hope he may be there by this time, with orders to draw out eight battalions of foot of those we have in Flanders, which are fourteen, and make what haste he can with them to you; we also send two battalions more from hence strait for Antwerp, which I hope will be embarked on Wednesday: You see we do all we can, and lose no time. I wish they may come time enough to you, but fear they cannot. This morning Lord Feversham and the Marquis de Bourgemaine came hither, and upon what they have said from you, have put a stop to the embarking of our 3000 horse and dragoons till we hear farther from you, but shall still keep them in readiness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops to go over.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, August 2, 1678.

“ I RECEIVED your’s from Cappel of the 4th of August, and by this time you will know that the ratification of the treaty went away last post; so that you shall find that nothing shall be wanting on our side; but by the last letters from Holland we have heard what the Swedes have done, and that most people there look upon the peace as certain; however, we here shall not look upon it as done till all be concluded, and our two battalions that were to go from hence will embark on Sunday and Monday for Antwerp.

Disappointed in this manner both of the money for the treaty of neutrality, and of the money for the assistance of Sweden, Charles broke off his connections with France, sent a greater army to Flanders, and endeavoured by the strongest promises of assistance, but in vain, to animate the Dutch to disregard the treaty they had just signed, and to prevent other powers from acceding to it. During four short months after the Dutch had signed the peace of Nimeguen, Charles was for once in his life sincerely an enemy to France.

During this period there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in King William's cabinet.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprise and anger at the Dutch signing the peace at Nimeguen.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, Sunday night, Aug. 4, 1678.

“WE were very much surprized this day to hear by an express from Nimeguen, that the peace was signed only by the Dutch and French without the Spaniards, and that the mediators had refused to sign, though offered by them, to have their hand in such a separate peace. I believe it was what you did not expect no more than we, and the manner of it was extraordinary, and what M. Bevering said upon his signing it; and by what we hear, the Swedes seem not to be pleased at it. For my part, it has so stunned me I do not know what to say upon it, nor guess what will follow upon it. I long very much to hear from you after your having heard

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of it. In the mean time, we do not put a stop to the embarking of the troops designed from hence, not knowing what may happen, for the two battalions that were designed to go from hence will be on ship-board by Tuesday next, and the horse and dragoons which were ordered to be ready, will be all this week at the water-side, and ready to go on ship-board at twenty-four hours warning. His Majesty has also ordered his troops that are by this time with you to continue with you, or to go back into Flanders from whence they came, as you shall find most expedient, which is all I have to say to you till I hear from you upon this affair, which so turns my head as I do hardly know what to say."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on the battle fought after the peace.—Promises assistance.

London, Aug. 12, 1678.

"I READ with a great deal of satisfaction your's of the 16th, in which you give an account of what you had done near Mons, for I received it but on Saturday night; and before that by the way of France, we had heard of your having been engaged, so that until I received your's, I was in great pain for you, and that day's action; but now I am at ease for both, and very much pleased for what you have done, for by what I hear from all sides, it was a very bold and vigorous action, and as bravely carried on. I am very glad you are so well satisfied with Lord Ossory and his Majesty's subjects, and that they behaved themselves so well. I hope those that before this are come to you will not discredit the nation. I am glad my nephew the Duke of Monmouth had the good fortune to be with you; he has done justice to your troops, and given the highest commendation

commendation to your foot guards and dragoons that can be, and which they deserve. We are very impatient for the to-morrow's letters, and hope to hear you have gained your point and relieved Mons. His Majesty has dispatched away Mr. Hyde to the Hague; and I believe you will not be displeased with the instruction he carries, the substance of which you will have in cypher from the Lord Treasurer; so that I shall not repeat it to you, by which you will see we do our parts, and that you shall always have reason to believe me as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, Aug. 13, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 20th from your camp near Revs, by the which I was very glad to find you had obtained your end without a second engagement, which has been much for your honour, and I hope will set all things to rights where you are going. Before you receive this, you will have seen Mr. Hyde, and found that what you desired was done by advance; and I am sure you will have been pleased with the orders he carried, and you may be sure that nothing shall be wanting on our side, which that you may see, we shall send over with all possible speed three thousand horse and dragoons, and three battalions of foot into Flanders; it will be eight days before the first can embarke, but the foot shall go sooner. We tell them here they shall go for Brabant to join your army, because we would not have the French know they are to go to Flanders before they be landed there, which when they shall know, will oblige them to fill their garrisons on that

that side, and by that means weaken their main army. We go to-morrow morning early to Windsor, but that shall not hinder any of our preparations, for you shall find we shall be very vigorous in standing by you, and you shall have reason to believe me kinder to you than ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Despairs of the French making peace.

Windsor, August 19, 1678.

"THIS bearer tells me he will be with you as soon as the post, so that I will answer by him yours of the 23 from the Hague; and according to what you wrote about a general suspension of arms, his Majesty has sent orders to his plenipotentiary at Nimeguen to propose it; but I doubt the French know too well the advantage they have to agree to it, unless they have more mind to a peace than I believe they have. We are in very great impatience to hear what resolutions you will have taken upon Mr. Hyde's arrival; I am sure you will be satisfied with the orders he carried, by which you will have seen we shall do our parts here, and you may be always assured of the continuance of my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent over.—Is to go over himself.

Windsor, Aug. 20, 1678.

"I WROTE yesterday to you, but this will be sooner with you, and therefore shall give you an account of the troops designed for Flanders, which will begin to embarke

embarke on Monday next, and wind and weather permitting, may be all landed at Ostend by the end of that week: They are composed of 27 troops of horse, 60 in each troop; 12 troops of dragoons, of 80 a-piece; and two battalions of foot, of 9 companies in each. The Earl of Feversham goes over to command them, and he goes over before, himself, this week to prepare their quarters, and by that time the cessation will be ended. I hope the horse will be refreshed and ready for any service if there be need of them; and if the war goes on, you will consider whether it will be best for the service for them to stay there in Flanders, or to join your army, or to have those foot of ours, which are already with your army, come back into Flanders, to see to make a diversion on that side now that Mons is relieved. I thought it necessary to mention this to you, that you may have in your thoughts how to dispose of them for the best of the service, for they shall be disposed on as you think best, and pray let me know when it may be proper for me to go over myself, and then I shall bring some more troops with me. Lord Feversham will write to you so soon as he is on the other side of the water. I long very much to hear what resolutions are taken at the Hague; I hope they will be to both of our satisfactions."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent.—He is himself to go. 7

Windsor, Aug. 23, 1678.

"SINCE I wrote last to you his Majesty has altered his mind as to the place where he will send those troops I mentioned to you, and instead of sending them into Flanders, has ordered them up the Scheld to land near

near Antwerp, and so to march towards the army to join it after they have refreshed themselves a little. This was resolved upon the Duke of Monmouth's representing to his Majesty, that you had rather have the foot that is now to go, to join your army than to go for Bruges; and besides that, that the whole country of Flanders was now so sickly, that certainly these troops which are now going over would soon have been rendered in as ill a condition to serve as those that are there already; whereas, going into Brabant, and to join the army, we hope they may not be so sickly. But before this resolution was taken, the two Spanish ministers were advised with about it, and have written to the Duke de Villahermoza to advertise him of it. The troops will begin to embark on Monday or Tuesday at farthest, and Lord Feverham goes a day or two before to prepare things for them. We had a very large account last post from Mr. Hyde, of what had then past upon his coming, and are very impatient for the next letters to know what resolutions will be taken, which I wish may be vigorous ones, and then I may hope to be soon with you on the other side of the water; which is all I have to say, but that you may always depend upon my kindnesse."

Nº V.

Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning his intrigues with Mr. Montagu and the popular party to accuse Lord Danby in parliament; and from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in the mean time,

BUT while Charles was spending his anger every where in vain against France, she was secretly preparing a mine to blow up his minister and expose himself,

by getting one of his own servants to lay before parliament one of those secret money transactions, into which she had herself drawn him. The beginning of the intrigue of Mr. Mountagu's attack upon Lord Danby in parliament, is to be found in the following dispatch of Barillon to Louis the XIVth.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 24, 1678.

SIRE,

“MR. Montagu and I have had many occasions of talking upon the present state of affairs. I thought I ought not to hide entirely from him the reasons which your Majesty has to be ill satisfied with the conduct of the court of England to you for some time past, which was already sufficiently known to him: This engaged him to speak openly to me, and to tell me it was in his power to ruin the high Treasurer, and that he would attack him in parliament, and accuse him of treason, if he was assured of the protection and good will of your Majesty in case of the consequences which this accusation might have. He pretends to prove from this minister's letters, that he ordered him on the part of his Britannic Majesty to ask a sum of 18 millions from your Majesty, and to declare that it was the only means to prevent his joining your enemies, and without it that he should be obliged to enter into the league against France, and to declare war against you. He alleges that his refusal to obey so extraordinary and so unreasonable an order, and which was given unknown to the Secretaries of State, drew upon him the enmity of this minister, and that it would be easy for him to

shew the parliament for what design 18 millions were wanted; and at the same time the parliament will see that your Majesty was not willing to enter into the schemes which were forming for the oppression of England, and the change of government. Mr. Montagu believes this accusation will infallibly ruin the high Treasurer. I thought I could not refuse hearkening to a proposal, the consequence of which may be conformable to your Majesty's intentions. The King of England can receive no greater embarrassment than to see a man attacked who has all his confidence. If this accusation has any success, his Britannic Majesty must fall into great inconveniencies whether he supports or abandons his prime minister. No one can ever be sure of any thing in this country: But this accusation cannot be entirely fruitless, because it is not destitute of foundation, and according to appearances Mr. Montagu would not attempt it unless he saw some prospect of succeeding. We have discoursed to the bottom concerning the means he intends to make use of to accomplish his design. I cannot answer that his measures are sure, but he hopes to be seconded by many considerable persons who will join him. However, he does not believe he shall be able to bear the weight of such an undertaking if your Majesty will not also contribute to it on your part. He asks that whatever your Majesty would do to traverse the designs of the court of England, and hinder the keeping up of the army, may be employed at the same time to favour what he undertakes. His demand is, that your Majesty will make a fund here of one hundred thousand livres, which should be employed to gain votes, and to make sure of seven or eight of the principal persons in the lower House, who may support the accusation as soon as it shall be begun. This expence and the employing this sum is not to be done without my participation

4

cipation and consent : That no money is to be given of which I should not know the advantage before-hand : That if in the end this scheme has no success, and the high Treasurer can maintain himself and overcome this attack, Mr. Montagu submits himself to your Majesty's generosity to use him in such a manner as you shall think proper, and grant him such marks of your good will and protection as you shall please ; and in this case your Majesty shall be obliged to nothing. But if the accusation succeeds, and the high Treasurer is ruined in six months from this time, Mr. Montagu hopes that your Majesty will recompense him for the service he shall do, and indemnify him for the loss he will infallibly suffer in his fortune and his posts. The King of England will probably use all his efforts to revenge himself of a man who in the person of his Prime Minister has attacked himself. Mr. Montague asked in this case that your Majesty should cause the sum of one hundred thousand crowns to be paid him, or that your Majesty would secure to him an annuity of forty thousand livres, on the Hotel de Ville, payable out of the funds that have been last settled. He will put this annuity in the name of persons most agreeable to your Majesty, and it shall remain his property to be disposed of, nevertheless subject to your Majesty's pleasure ; that is to say, that he shall not sell nor alienate it without your permission. If neither of these propositions be agreeable to your Majesty, he will content himself with your promise of a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life : Thus it is in your Majesty's choice to give him either the sum of one hundred thousand crowns in hand, or an annuity of forty thousand livres upon the Hotel de Ville, or a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life ; and this in case only that the accusation succeeds, and the Treasurer is removed from court in six months ; for if this happens,

Mr. Montagu does not think he should be exposed to the King of England's hatred, as he will be, if what he attempts succeeds. Six months time is taken, because it is presumed that his Britannic Majesty will use his efforts to preserve his minister, and that at first he will support him. I shall not take upon me to give counsel to your Majesty; I ought to content myself with executing with care the orders you shall give me. However, as your Majesty hath commanded me to do every thing that is possible to raise troubles to the King of England, it does not appear to me that any thing could possibly happen more disagreeable to him than to see the man accused in parliament in whom he has reposed the care of affairs, and the government of his kingdom for two years. The Treasurer's enemies, who are very numerous, will take courage, and it is not impossible that the Duke of York may abandon him and turn against him. It may happen that the King of England will prorogue his parliament as soon as the Treasurer is attacked; but if he does it, he will have no money either to subsist his army, or to disband it. This may engage him to take a desperate step, and attempt something violent. I much doubt whether the event of it would be fortunate for him. Your Majesty will be able to weigh all the reasons on the one side and the other, and to command me according to your will. Whatever part your Majesty takes, I do not believe any inconvenience can happen to you, because Mr. Montagu's head is in danger if what he has treated upon with me be ever known. I am, &c.

(Signed)

BARILLON."

The French intrigues in parliament were attended with the most important consequences. The King and the Prince of Orange were equally perplexed, and France served, by the contradictory movements in parliament with regard to the French war, of which the Duke of York and Lord Danby complain in their letters recited above. From Barillon's dispatches of 20th and 27th October, 24th November, and 22d December, 1678, it appears, that after Montague's offer to accuse Lord Danby, Barillon was continually busied in extending the party which was averse to Danby; that Barillon believed Danby in revenge gave ear to the popish plot to make France odious, and permitted the intrigues of Colman to be exposed to hurt Barillon himself; that Lord Halifax was privy to the intention of impeaching Lord Danby, in order to rise on his ruins, and Algernon Sidney was the person who managed the correspondence between him and Lord Halifax concerning it; that there was much hesitation about the time when the attack should be made, the leaders of the popular party insinuating it should not be until the King had been forced to disband his army; and that in the end it was made sooner than was intended, by the sudden order of Lord Danby (who had probably suspected what was going on) for the seizing of Mr. Montague's papers. The effects of Mr. Montague's accusation in parliament were, the ruin of Lord Danby's ministry, the dissolution of the parliament, the disgrace of the King on account of his traffic for money with France, and a foundation laid for a long train of evils to him and his brother.

The names of many of the popular party who intrigued with France, the political principles by which they

they reconciled this conduct to their own minds, and the motives of interest which may also be supposed to have had weight with them, will be seen in the next chapter.

It did not escape the sagacity of Lord Keeper North, that there must have been an invisible hand which directed the irregular movements of the House of Commons at this time. In his manuscript memorandums there are the following passages :

Extracts from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandums.

“ **I**T was very strange to see the papists join in the cry against the court, and the country party keep company with the French Ambassador, and Mr. Coleman (who was truly a pensioner of France), send letters of intelligence to his friends in several parts, burlesquing the orders of government and their buckling to France, and magnifying Spain and the confederates, and boasting of a true English spirit, and he was turned out of the Duke's service, for these pranks, by the King's command, which made him be more cherished by the whigs who conversed with him, especially in parliament time, when he always made them welcome to his table.

And it was observed the papists in the House of Lords did join with the discontented Lords against the test (which I am credibly informed was upon an assurance given them they should never be turned out upon any test), and likewise for to address for the dissolution of that House of Commons. In the first they prevailed, and were served as all who trust the fanatics are usually served,

served, who all of them joined in the exclusion of them by an act of the same parliament."

"WHEN Coleman was in the pay of the French, he held correspondence with Monsieur le Chaise, and he wrote news-papers against the French and Jesuits amongst the fanatics."

"IT was strange to me that the House of Commons should be so earnest to persuade the King to enter into an actual war with France, and when he had made preparations in order for it, that the factious party should represent them as intended to enslave the nation, and that good men should be able to believe it.

"Here were two rocks, France and arbitrary power. If the King should not make war, it were kindness to France; if he did, his very army was shewed to the people as a bugbear. It is certain that the gentry were in some fear to see so gallant an army so quickly raised, and to be rid of it must join to call it popish; and to make the name more odious, the plot must be magnified, and the posts and chains set up in the city, and the trained bands up every night, to the citizens immense charge, who were in so real (though senseless) a fright that they bore it very patiently."

"IN order to have foreign enmitys against the government, the faction press them to a foreign war, which will be sure to make the enemies comfort them at home; and if any object that foreign war may bring misery upon the people, and hinder trade, which will make confusion; all the better, say they, when the people are enraged we will charge the fault upon whom we please."

"A GREAT

“ A GREAT statesman (Lord Danby) once resolved to oppose France and popery, which were popular measures one would have thought him safe in. But France tempted him with that which to have refused would have made his master ruin him; and the negociation itself being criminous was exposed. The plot accusers loved his adversary better than him, and when he cherished them they accused even him. A statesman should not rely, as he did, upon tools (Doctor Tong, Oates) that are guided by others.”

The Lord Keeper was so far in the right, with regard to Coleman's being employed by Barillon as an incendiary to disturb Charles's government, that some of Barillon's dispatches mention his giving money to him in that way; and in a volume of supplement to Barillon's dispatches in the Depot, for the years 1679 and 1680, there is a memorial from his widow to the French court, transmitted by Monsieur Barillon, in which she sets forth, that Monsr. Barillon had promised her husband 65,000 livres for his services, in case war was not declared by England against France; that he had received only half the sum, and that Barillon scrupled paying the other half to her without an order: *Vide* also the Journals of the House of Commons, November 7, 1678, where Coleman confesses that he got money from Barillon to be distributed in the House of Commons.

The Prince of Orange also, at a later period, got some information of the intrigues of France in parliament. Blancard's memorial, mentioned in the last chapter, contains these words:—“ The King of
France

France would have been very sorry that he (i. e. Charles) had been absolute in his states; one of his most constant maxims since the re-establishment of that Prince having been to set him at variance with his parliament, and to make use sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other, and always by money to gain his ends."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, written during the quarrel between King Charles and Louis the XIVth, from the peace of Nimeguen until the fall of Lord Danby's ministry.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the trick of the popish plot.—Godfrey's murder.

London, October 18, 1678.

"THIS pretended plot is still under examination, and the judges are to give their opinion whether one witness in point of treason be sufficient to proceed criminally against any body: And I do verily believe that when this affair is thoroughly examined, it will be found nothing but malice against the poor Catholics in general, and myself in particular. There is another thing happened, which is, that a justice of peace, one Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, was missing some days, suspected by several circumstances, very probable ones, to design the making himself away; yesterday his body was found in a by-place in the fields, some two or three miles off, with his own sword through him. This makes a great noise, and is laid upon the Catholics also, but without any reason for it, for he was known to be

far from being an enemy to them. All these things happening together will cause, I am afraid, a great flame in the parliament when they meet on Monday, for those disaffected to the government will inflame all things as much as they can."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Matters point to a rebellion in England.

London, December 3, 1678.

"**A**FFAIRS in general go very ill, for you see the Commons will not so much as hearken to the keeping up any longer the troops we have in Flanders and Brabant, so that they must of necessity be soon sent for over, it being impossible to keep them there for want of money, and a bill is now passing in the House of Commons for their being disbanded out of hand, and to send for them presently over for that intent; and yesterday the ministers in general were fallen upon, and all things look as they did in the beginning of the late rebellion; and truly I believe there will be great disorders here before it be long, if things continue at the rate they are; and the republican party is very busy at work. As for what concerns myself, since my proviso has past, I have been let alone, but how long that will continue I do not know, for some continue their good will to me still."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth endeavours to be accounted legitimate.

London, December 9, 1678.

"**T**HINGS go on very ill still, and I am afraid things will grow to a greater heat than ever, and that they will every day do something to lessen the King's authority;

city; and I am told they will again fall upon the Queen and myself, and that to-morrow will be the day. I believe you have heard of some foolish discourses have gone about town concerning the Duke of Monmouth; they continue still, and some of his friends talk as indiscreetly on the same subject. The republicans, and others of the boldest fanatics, are they that spread it most abroad, hoping to reap some advantage by it against our families; but if they can do us harm no other way, I shall not much fear them: However, I shall be watchful upon that matter, and not despise it neither, and if I find it necessary shall take notice of it to his Majesty, who continues very kind to me. I have written so freely, this going by a safe hand."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Intention of the Commons to impeach Danby and disband the army.

London, Dec. 17, 1678.

"I HAVE not heard from you this good while, however that does not hinder me from writing, though one has not great pleasure in giving any account of what passes here, things not going as they should. This day was once designed by some to have brought in an impeachment against the Lord Treasurer, but they have deferred it; some think it is deferred only to see what success the bill for the disbanding the army will have in our House; and when that shall be past them, have at us all. To-morrow we go upon it in a committee of the whole House, and we shall I believe have a warm debate concerning some amendments which are of absolute necessity to be made in it. In the mean time his Majesty seeing to draw over his troops as soon as he can, and the weather being frosty as it is, has altered his mind of having those in Brabant come down the Scheld from Ant-

werp, and designs now to have them march over land to Ostend to embark there, and is sending away orders to that purpose.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montagu's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

“YOUR's of the 20th I received but last night, by the which I see you think it very strange that people here do so push for the disbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that signify, since it is so pushed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow shall pass it and send it down again to the House of Commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cause some debate between the Houses. I believe you will be surpris'd to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yesterday accused in council of having had secret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himself of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command, when he was ambassador in France, and shews them to the Commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer upon the matter contained in those letters, and other things they had against him. I am confident there was never so abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and so offensive to the King, in revealing what he was trusted with when he was employed by his Majesty: All honest men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our House, then we shall see what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treasurer will defend himself very well; I

am sure his Majesty is bound to stand by him. You see at what a rate things go here : I see little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a busy week with us, though it be the Christmas holidays."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of disbanding part of the troops.

London, Jan. 10, 1678.

"AS for news, here is none considerable, but what I believe pleases you no more than it does me, which is, that there are already three of the new-raised regiments of horse disbanded ; and the rest of the new-raised troops will be so too as fast as money can be got to pay them off. As for other things ; the face of affairs looks very ill still, and the ill-affected people do keep up the fears and jealousies as much as ever, and men's minds are as unsettled as ever, and fit for any disorder, and I very much fear we shall find the effects of it so soon as the troops are disbanded ; and then we shall not only be liable to disorders at home, but be exposed to attempts from abroad,"

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Anxious on his own account.

London, Jan. 17, 1678-9.

"I DID not write to you by last post, having then but little to say, and now all that is, is that his Majesty declared in council this afternoon that he would put off the meeting of the parliament till the 25th of next month ; for till that time he believed he should not be able to have disbanded the new-raised troops, or to have found out the bottom of the plot, both which he would willingly do before

before they met; as for the disbanding, as fast as they come out of Flanders it will be done, and for the plot, a committee of council sits every morning. I wish we may not repent before few months pass the parting with so many good troops; for I must confess I do not like to hear the French are getting so considerable a fleet ready at Brest, especially when I consider the posture affairs are in at home; and I assure you great arts are used by some to enflame men's mind, which is now easily done; and how all things will end, the Lord only knows; and for myself, those who appeared against me when the parliament sat are as malicious against me as ever."

C H A P. IV.

From the fall of Lord Danby's ministry until the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles II.

THE new House of Commons, in the beginning of the year 1679, pressed forward to the exclusion in the footsteps of their predecessors, but with more force: For, the church and dissenters, uniting their interests, had returned a new House of Commons more zealous than the former. They voted, that the prospect of the Duke's succession to the crown was the cause of the popish plot; and, in order to secure the people, by linking their interests with those of the House of Commons, they contrived a variety of popular bills.

Promising appearances of the exclusion in the second parliament.

A prince who is strong, while his enemies are weak, may sometimes trust them, because he may win them by a generous confidence, and may always command them. But woe to the Prince who puts himself into the hands of his opposers, when he is weak and they strong: Upon the fall of Lord Danby, the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was the King's mistress, and Lord Sunderland, who was his confidant, though connected in secret with several leaders of the popular party, both of whom were afraid of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby, advised the King to commit the conduct of his business to those who had formerly opposed it; persuading him, that the popula-

New council.

popularity of the measure would induce parliament to give him money. The popular Lords, Essex and Halifax, were, together with Lord Sunderland, declared his ministers; and a new council was framed, commonly called Sir William Temple's council, because the King deceived him into the idea, that he was the first projector of it, into which many of the popular leaders in parliament were admitted, and at the head of which Lord Shaftesbury was placed. The Duke of Monmouth was allowed great sway in this council. These new ministers obliged the King to consent to disband the army; and when he discovered an intention of reserving to himself the feeble aid of one company of guards, composed of 200 disbanded officers, with a view to have officers ready if he should afterwards raise troops, he was checked by one of his ministers, the Earl of Essex*, and Lord Sunderland under-hand encouraged Essex in doing so. They yielded to sundry popular laws which were brought into parliament, and yet got no money from parliament for their master, who was in real want, as the price of them. Suspecting and dreading the intrigues of France with the King, because many of them knew the force of them upon themselves, the new council made an order, that no foreign minister should speak to him without asking an audience. In vain, to prevent the bill of exclusion from being brought into the House of Commons, the King offered to impose such limitations upon a popish successor, as would have left him little more than the title of royalty. The Duke in his exile complained of his brother's project more than of that of the House of Commons; and the Prince of Orange remonstrated against it, either because he thought the monarchy would not recover its splendour in the person of his con-

* Vid. Appendix.

fort, if it was debased in her father's, or because he did not wish to see divisions terminated from which he might himself reap advantage. Some of the new ministers advised Charles to the exclusion, and others to the banishment of the Duke. Lord Russel, even whilst a member of the new council, had carried up to the Lords the vote which was preparatory to the bill of exclusion. And Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, with the Duchesses of Portsmouth, solicited Charles to give a public promise that he would never recal the Duke without the consent of his council. The Duke, in the mean time, continued at Brussels, doubtful of his fate, and, according to the nature of the human mind when in a state of anxiety, sometimes trusting to, and at other times distrusting the steadiness of his brother. He was the more incited to suspicion, because he had not been acquainted with the framing of the new council; until it was framed.

Many other things now promised success to the bill of exclusion. To men in high tides of public passion, the dangers of posterity appear equal to their own. The hatred and fear of popery were naturally transferred upon a Prince who publicly professed it. The King, because a steady friend to few, was thought to have only a few attached to him. His brother, because he was thought to be an enemy to many, was known to have many foes. Danby had, indeed, upon the fall of the cabal, prevailed upon the church-party, who were disobliged by the declaration of indulgence, to resume their old station behind the throne; but the discovery of the popish plot broke the party; for, when they considered the avowed religion of the Duke, and that both Princes were married to Roman Catholics, their loyalty became suspended in their fears for their religion. The informers of the plot, by accusing many members of both Houses,

deterred many more from opposing the will of the Duke's enemies, while they had the direction of witnesses who scattered death where they pleased. Shaftesbury threw the firebrands of dissension, which he had lighted up in the nation, into the royal family. For, to the Duchess of Portsmouth for her son, and to the Duke of Monmouth for himself, he alternately held up the view of a visionary crown, in the exclusion of the Duke of York. A more real prospect opened itself to the adherents of the Prince of Orange, in confusions raised by others, but of which it was foreseen the profit would probably in the end redound to him.

The Duke of Monmouth gets the command of the army against the rebellion in Scotland.

Shaftesbury called in the aid of war to that of party. He had long maintained a correspondence with the discontented party in Scotland. He first taught them to exclaim against the tyranny to which they had submitted under Lauderdale; then spread that cry through England; and pointing at the sufferings of the Scots, as the forerunners of like distress to the English, raised pity, indignation, and terror in his countrymen. In the last parliament, he made a speech to rouse the Scotch to opposition; in which he said, "That popery was inclined to precede slavery in England, and slavery had been the forerunner of popery in Scotland." And forty written copies of this speech were sent off to Edinburgh the very day it was spoken. It was like the sound of a trumpet to the Scots. Eight thousand of them flew to arms: A band the more dangerous, because, as no people of condition were amongst them, greater fear was entertained of the lurking than of the open treason. But Charles took a generous resolution; he trusted to nature, and sent his son at the head of an army against a rebellion which was known to be fomented by those who promoted his pretensions to the crown. Shaftesbury then started an objection, that English troops could not be

sent

sent into Scotland, without infringing the treaties between the two nations. Under this pretence several of the whig party declined the service, among whom was Lord Grey, for whom the command of the horse was intended, Lord Cavendish, and Lord Brandon: And the city petitioned the King against the expedition. Monmouth abused not the trust that was reposed in him. He conquered those rebels for the King, with whom he might have bargained for himself, treating them at the same time with a mercy which secured their affections ever after; and returned triumphantly to London, to obtain the exclusion of his uncle from the tenderness and gratitude of his father.

But the glories of Monmouth were short-lived. The Duke of York, who had founded the Prince of Orange, and found him provoked by the pretensions which Monmouth had set up for himself, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he called his attention to the consequences of Monmouth's schemes to both of them; urged him not to disband his army, but to dissolve the parliament, to regulate the expences of his court, and to punish Monmouth; and assured him, that, instead of having reason to fear the Prince of Orange, he would find in that Prince his firmest friend. Encouraged by this, Charles prorogued his parliament, upon the Commons ordering a bill to be brought in for disabling the Duke to succeed to the crown, and soon after dissolved it. In proroguing it he had the art, by pretending fear of a remonstrance which the House of Commons * was preparing against his ministers, to get Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax to concur in the measure. But Shaftesbury, disappointed and enraged, declared aloud, that he would

Disappointed,
and second
parliament
dissolved.

* Sir William Temple.

have the heads of his late associates for advising the measure.

Accident
which de-
termines
the condi-
tion of the
two
Dukes.

The prorogation of parliament, though flowing from the intelligence which the Duke had communicated with regard to the Prince of Orange, was however attended with the continuance of mortification to him; for the design of proroguing it was not previously communicated to him. The Duke therefore wrote pressing for leave to return home; but Charles refused it, and continued irresolute whether he should strip Monmouth of his power. But the condition of the two Dukes was soon after determined by one of those accidents which no wisdom can foresee, and on which the fates of empires often turn. The King fell suddenly sick at Windsor. Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, recollected the threats of Shaftesbury against them, for the dismissal of the last parliament, and dreaded that these might be put in execution, if Monmouth, the friend of Shaftesbury, should be placed upon the throne. These men, with Hyde and Godolphin, consulted together. Each concealing his private motives, all reasoned upon the imprudence of leaving the apparent heir of the crown in a foreign country, where, in case of Charles's death, the person of a King of England might be seized by foreigners; and, in the end, they resolved that the Duchess of Portsmouth should propose to the King to send for his brother. She readily agreed, conscious that this was not the time for the success of her views for her son. Charles was pleased with her project: The Duke hastened over; but, finding his brother out of danger when he saw him, offered instantly to return. The meeting affected the King, who found, that in a great kingdom he had but few friends. The weakness of his spirits added tenderness to his mind; He remembered the common misfor-

tunes

tunes of their youth. The Duke of Monmouth, whilst he was hunting in the park, heard, for the first time, of the return of the Duke. He hastened back to the palace, and in an unguarded transport reproached the King with concealing from him the invitation he had given. Charles was struck with the contrast between the submission of a brother whom he had injured by banishment, and the presumption of a son who had leagued himself with the enemies of the royal family. In a heat he commanded the Duke of Monmouth into that banishment from which he seemed so unwilling to relieve his uncle. Monmouth refused obedience in haughty terms, and withdrew. But, next day, the two Dukes having agreed, that, in order to prevent discord in the court and the nation, both should retire abroad, Monmouth made a submission to the King, and left the court. After this, Charles insisted publicly with the Duke of York to continue in England. But the Duke, in excuse, pleaded the faith plighted to Monmouth; another circumstance which increased the respect of Charles for his brother. At last, it was privately resolved between them, that, after the Duke of York had remained a short time abroad, he should send a petition to the King* to ask leave to make his residence in Scotland, which should be complied with: A compromise suited to the uncertain state of parties at the time; because it neither removed the Duke too much out of sight, nor brought him too near it. Monmouth fixed his residence in Holland, where he professed his attachment to the Prince of Orange, who pretended to believe it. The Duke of York returned to Brussels.

Exile of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duke of York's return to Brussels.

In the mean time the distresses of Charles had, ever since the fall of Lord Danby, caused him to cast many

Advances of Charles to France.

* This is confirmed, Gazette, No. 1449.

a longing look towards France. His second parliament had scarcely met, when he, and still more his brother, privately begged the protection of Louis against it. He took advantage of the order of the new council against foreign Ambassadors speaking to him without the previous demand of an audience, to inflame Barillon in his cause; and with his usual arts in acting a part, affected to meet him only in secret places, and with many signs of fear of detection. But Louis, provoked by his unwillingness to disband the army whenever Barillon proposed it; the disbanding of which was the great object of Louis, as the keeping it on foot was the great object of Charles; and by the project of the new council, which he was afraid might have united all parties against France, and conscious of his own strength in Charles's kingdom, from the intrigues of his Ambassador there, continued for several months deaf to his prayers. It was a mortifying circumstance for a King of England to be obliged to make use of the reproaches of a French woman (the Duchess of Portsmouth) who had been of his sister's bed-chamber, to a King of France, for being insensible to his sufferings.

Negotiation of a new private money treaty.

But when Charles had the boldness to dissolve his second parliament, Louis altered his conduct, to which he was induced by the fear of forcing Charles into the arms of the Prince of Orange; and by the hopes of prevailing upon him to rest his dependance solely upon France, and to throw himself loose of parliaments. A private treaty, as usual, was set on foot between the two Princes in September 1679: Barillon managed it upon the part of Louis; Lord Sunderland, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, upon that of Charles; and the Duke of York sent Colonel Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, from Brussels to Paris, to beg that his interest might be taken care of in it. The terms agreed upon

upon in the conferences were, that the Duke of York should be called from abroad; that the King should assemble no parliament for three years; that Charles should have a pension for these years; that France should not attack Flanders; and that neither party should enter into treaties prejudicial to the other. The extent of the pension to be given created much difficulty in the negotiation. Lord Sunderland asked six millions of livres the first year, and four the two next. The Duchess of Portsmouth came down to four millions for each year. Charles went lower, offered to take nine millions for the three years, provided four were paid the first year; and haggled hard for these terms. In the middle of the treaty Barillon proposed, instead of a pension for three years, to give five hundred thousand crowns in hand, if Charles would engage to call no parliament before the end of March then next. Charles, irritated by this shifting of ground, threatened to call a parliament instantly, and trust himself to it. At last both parties agreed upon a pension of one million of livres for three years. To facilitate the money part of the treaty, the Duke of York offered to lend his own private fortune to Louis, and that the first payment of the pension to his brother should be made out of it. In conducting this treaty the common language held by Lord Sunderland, the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King, and the Duke, was, that it was to put England for ever in a state of dependance upon France. In order to help it forward, the usual arts of France in this reign were made use of; for the Duchess of Portsmouth having suggested to Barillon, that the best way to secure Sunderland to the interest of France was by money, Barillon received orders to flatter both him and her with enough of it.

Elated with the prospect of success, Charles dismissed from the ministry his popular ministers, dissolved his pop-
The Duke
sent to
Scotland.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

pular council, and recalled his brother from Flanders; though he soon after sent him to fix his court in Scotland, according to the concert formed when the two Dukes had left England, notwithstanding all the urgencies of the Duke to be permitted to dispense with that concert.

Louis, flattered with the prospect of reducing, by the private treaty in agitation, the King of England to a total state of dependence upon him, indulged the French spirit of political parsimony, and in a belief that parliaments were to be no longer of significance, dropt for a time his connections with the popular party in England.

The negotiation for a private money treaty broke off.

The departure of the Duke, however, gave room for difficulties to start up in a negotiation which was almost concluded when he went away. The secret of the negotiation having been communicated to the Duke's brother-in-law, Lord Hyde, who was a novice in the practices of the two royal brothers with France, he communicated his own fears to the King and Lord Sunderland. The King, for his own sake, hesitated about that part of it which related to parliament: The Lords Hyde and Sunderland for their's insisted that the treaty should either be verbal, or if signed, should be signed by the King only; and the treaty moved slowly on. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the French court presuming on the weak condition of the King, and on their own strength, altered that part of the draught of the treaty which had been agreed upon relative to the foreign alliances, and giving up the power of making offensive alliances against England, reserved that of making defensive ones against her. The King and his ministers then started back from the precipice, and the treaty was, on the end of November 1679, broke off.

The connections of Charles and his favourites changed.

Enraged at the insincerity of the French court, Charles soon after formed an alliance with Spain for the preservation of Flanders against France. Lord Sunderland and the

the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth adviſed him to it, as the only meaſure which could recover his popularity; but the Duke of York from his retirement complained, that they had wilfully miſmanaged the treaty with France, and ſacrificed their maſter's and his intereſts to acquire popularity to themſelves. Certain it is, that after breaking off the negotiation with France, they engaged deeply in the cabals of the excluſioniſts, and gave up altogether the intereſt of the Duke of York.

Charles, however, without regarding the intrigues either of his miſtreſs or of his miniſter, avoided aſſembling a new parliament above ſixteen months from the prorogation of the laſt one, and ſpent the intermediate ſpace in ſecuring a great part of the nation in his defence. Many things contributed during this interval to ſtrengthen the King. His open declaration in favour of his brother determined the wavering. The danger of a civil war in a diſputed ſucceſſion alarmed the timid. The wiſe remarked the flagitious character of Shaftesbury, the irregular ambition of Monmouth, and the caution of the Prince of Orange. Some of the popular party, who deemed it lawful to puniſh kings in their perſons, thought it unwiſe to break the line of their ſucceſſion; becauſe, in the breaches of that line, a barrier might be opened to the ambition of every popular ſubject. In proportion as the belief of the popiſh plot wore off, men's fear of danger from a popiſh Prince grew more faint. Charles reſorted in his difficulties to that loyal party which he had neglected in his proſperity; and they, overlooking what was paſt, faithful and ſubmiſſive, flocked again to uphold the ſtandard of the crown. The cloſe union of the popular and diſſenting parties roused the church by her own intereſt, and her ancient antipathies. But, above all, the late rebellion in Scotland had given the alarm to every friend of the conſtitution in the church or the

Charles
ſpends ſix-
teen
months in
ſtrength-
ening him-
ſelf at
home.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

state; for the Scots, though instigated, not conducted by Shaftesbury, instead of making the exclusion of the Duke the object of their insurrection, had adopted the solemn league and covenant, and the abolition of prelacy, as the principle of their union. Men recollected, that a party in Scotland, of which this appeared the counterpart in its movements, had, in concert with the discontented party in England, and under pretence of zeal against popery, begun those distractions which ended in the ruin of the monarchy and the church. The King, taking advantage of those circumstances, and of the recess of parliament, recalled his brother from Scotland in the beginning of the year 1680, and kept him about his person.

Arts of the
popular
party dur-
ing this
interval.

The art of Charles during this interval was counteracted by the arts of his opponents. Monmouth, who was the idol of the people, partly upon his own account, but more upon account of the hatred they bore his uncle, returned from beyond seas without leave, soon after the return of the Duke of York to court; was received by the people with those triumphs which were no longer bestowed upon the King; made a progress through a great part of the kingdom, as if he had been a candidate for future sovereignty; and was treated wherever he went, as if he was already possessed of it. He was met at Taunton, a place whose honours were ever ominous to him, by near thirty thousand persons, mostly on horseback. In order to keep up the spirits of the people during the interruption of parliament, and to shew them, that the popular party, after drawing the sword, had thrown away the scabbard, Shaftesbury, at the head of a band of nobility and gentry, presented the Duke of York as a popish recusant, at the bar of the King's bench; and a project was formed to impeach him. Seventeen peers in a body presented a petition to the King to call a parlia-

parliament. Addresses followed, for the same purpose, from a great number of counties, boroughs, and different bodies of men. These Charles counteracted, by procuring addresses from his party, which expressed their abhorrence of the proceedings of the party which opposed him. Hence the whole nation came to be divided by the invidious names of petitioners and abhorrrers, of whigs and tories : For, when both sides made their appeal to the people, that flame, the appearance of which had been hitherto confined chiefly to the city and the parliament, blazed in every corner of the kingdom ; and the old parties of court and country, took their sides every where, exactly as they had done in the late reign.

Upon the sight of those things, the Duke of York repeatedly pressed his brother to imitate boldly the example of his father, and venture a civil war for the recovery of his authority. Charles, however, chose a less dangerous experiment ; and to get money at home, since he could get none from France, assembled a new parliament, which was the third he had called, in October 1680.

The Duke presses for a civil war.

The Duke of York suspecting every thing, because he had every thing to suspect, in order to bar an impeachment which he was afraid of, asked a pardon from his brother. Essex opposed it in council, saying, “ If he was the “ Duke’s counsellor, he would advise it ; but, as the “ King’s, he must oppose it.” Charles, from regard to the Duke’s dignity and his own, refused the pardon that was asked ; but, the very day before the parliament met, he once more ordered his brother to retire to Scotland. The measure was resolved upon in council, by the advice of Sunderland, Godolphin, Essex, and Halifax *, and against the opinions of the other counsellors. But it was owing chiefly to the secret persuasions of the Dutchess of

Difference between the royal brothers.

* D’Avaux.

Portsmouth, impelled by fears for her lover, dislike of the Duke, and views of ambition for her own son.

The King
under
great dif-
ficulties.

The Duke of York, who had been always in the habit of paying that obedience to his brother which he expected from others for himself, refused, for the first time in his life, to obey the King's order. He was at this time the more irritated, because the King had renewed his application to prevail upon him to conform himself to the church of England. The Duke's refusal to depart embarrassed the King, because it was against law to force him to quit the kingdom against his will. After some days, the Duke pretended to yield to the persuasions of others; but he secretly informed Barillon before he went, that his intention in submitting was to fortify himself in Scotland, and from thence and from Ireland, to speed a civil war into England: Resolutions of despair, which however he was prevented from carrying into execution by that coolness and caution which were characteristic of his favourite Colonel Churchill.

The Com-
mons in
the third
parliament
proceed-
directly to
the exclu-
sion.

When the new parliament met, it was soon perceived that the violence of the members had been only encreased from its interruption. One of the first things the House of Commons did, was to pass a bill of exclusion, and send it by Lord Russel to the Lords. The storm now thickened upon Charles. The Prince of Orange, who had hitherto lain by, to take advantage of disturbances raised by others, or had only secretly fomented them, gave public countenance to the bill of exclusion; for Fagell the pensionary of Holland, a man known to be under his direction, sent a memorial to Charles in the name of the Dutch, which pressed him, in terms almost menacing, to consent to the exclusion. Sidney, the King's envoy, was the person who transmitted it, in connivance with his uncle Lord Sunderland; and soon after Sir Gabriel Sylvius, one of the Prince's friends,

who had passed through Holland in his return from a German embassy, told every where in England, that the Prince avowed the memorial*. The Spanish minister likewise urged the King in a memorial to the exclusion, though in terms more decent. And both memorials were calculated to inflame the nation by connecting the interest of France with that of the Duke of York, and the interests of the exclusion, with the safety of England, and of Europe, against France. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, who had lately formed the most intimate connections with the whig party by means of Lord Howard, and who had been offered an hundred thousand pounds by that party, if she would gain the King to their side, and had been threatened to be put into the list of grievances, if she would not, threw herself at his feet, shed a flood of tears, and conjured him, by his own safety, to yield to that house of parliament which had brought destruction upon his father for opposing its desires. Essex his late, and Sunderland and Godolphin, two of his present ministers, urged on the exclusion. Halifax indeed opposed it; but immediately after proposed, that the Duke should remain in banishment during the King's life: A conduct suited to the middle course which he was accustomed to steer, and which got him the appellation of *the trimmer*.

While all men were intent in public upon the exclusion of the Duke, the most extravagant schemes of faction were indulged in private. Montagu, who had attached himself to Monmouth, urged the French court to get him declared Prince of Wales by his father, giving this reason for the advice, that a disputed succession in England would be an advantage to France. The Duke of Buckingham boasted to Barillon, that he was

Extravagance of faction.

* Sir William Temple, 350.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

in no English party, and in that of Louis the XIVth alone. He sometimes insinuated his own pretensions to the crown to Barillon, recounting, that by his mother, who was descended from Edward the IVth, he was himself a Plantagenet; and at other times, he advised him neither to court the King, nor to trouble himself about the pretenders to the succession, but to cultivate connections with the city and the dissenters, who he said were at his devotion, and could command the fate of government when they pleased. The Dutchess of Portsmouth to serve her son, the Duke of Monmouth to serve himself, and each making a tool of the other, while they appeared linked in the strictest amity, formed a project of getting a parliamentary sanction for the King's naming his successor, similar to that which had been given by parliament to Henry the VIIIth. Lord Sunderland and Lord Shaftesbury concurred in it; the one to make his interest with the King, and his own party, of the greater consequence to every competitor, and the other probably from the mere love of mischief and confusion. Louis the XIVth long supported the rights of the Duke of York, and opposed the pretensions of the Prince of Orange; but when he saw the Duke of York sent a second time an exile into Scotland, the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Sunderland quit his cause, and a connection struck up between the Dutchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of Monmouth, fearing that harmony might be restored between the King and the popular party in the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth, he gave orders to Barillon to assure the King, that he would support the pretensions of the Prince of Orange against those of the Duke of Monmouth. At the same time, by a train of policy the deepest perhaps that is to be found in the history of mankind, he encouraged the Duke of York to create a civil war in Scotland; he

caused

caused Barillon, when the treaty in November 1679 was broke off, to renew his intrigues with the popular party for the defence of their liberties, and he offered a new money treaty to Charles to enable him to destroy these liberties; triumphing thus in secret over the common disgraces of the King and of the people alike.

Charles was now placed in the very situation for which by nature he was formed to act a dextrous part. He gave way to all the furies of his subjects against one another to save himself, and yet, by preserving his usual gaiety* and wit, kept their passions, by the example of their sovereign, within the bounds of decency to each other. He played over again, but with better success, the same double game between his son, his son-in-law, his mistress, and his brother, which at one time he had played between France and his people, and at another between Louis and the Prince of Orange; for he treated with all of them, concealed his mind from all of them, and taking hopes from none of them, prevented them by mutual awe, and the fear of losing him, from proceeding to actions of despair; and by a conduct, which in another situation would have been ineffectual and weak, preserved the nation from a civil war, into which more open and determined measures might have plunged it. The violence of his brother's temper disturbed him most, because it ran directly counter to the system which the King was pursuing. When the measure of the Duke's second exile into Scotland was put to the vote in council, there were seven for it, and eleven against it. Charles, with a wicked pleasantry, said, "Since he has so many friends for him, I see he must go."

Personal
behaviour
of Charles.

But at the bottom he continued resolute against the exclusion. Many things contributed to his firmness.

Causes of
his firm-
ness

* Sir John Revelby.

against
that mea-
sure.

He had publicly disclaimed his marriage with Monmouth's mother; but many of the popular party, by attacking his veracity in public, linked his honour and his brother's interest together. The same party had proposed in parliament a general association of the nation in defence of the protestant religion, and against the Duke of York's succession: A project which brought to his mind the consequences of the league in France, and of the solemn league and covenant in Scotland and England. Lord Essex had proposed, in the House of Lords, that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of parliament during Charles's life, to secure the exclusion of his brother after his death. Various bills had been moved for to curb the King's power, and others to punish his ministers. These things persuaded him, that, though his brother was attacked, himself was aimed at, and that the ruin of the one would be only a prelude to that of the other. The Duke of Monmouth having said, in a speech in the House of Lords upon the exclusion, that he must vote for it, because he thought the King's safety involved in it, Charles said aloud, "It is a Judas's kiss which he gives me." The union between the dissenting interest, the popular interest, and the city, reminded him of his father's fate. Even the *habeas corpus* act which he had passed, and which a Prince, who knew the rights of mankind and his own security better, would have considered as a means of safety to himself as well as to his subjects, still filled his mind with anxiety and trouble. It had been promoted by Shaftesbury, it had been obtained during the ministry of Essex, and Charles imagined it was intended to encourage revolts, by disabling him to restrain the persons of his subjects, and to render him unpopular, by obliging him to keep up a standing force, for his own safety, against enemies who were no longer dependent upon his power. The artifice
of

of employing a woman to practise upon his weakness, attached him only the more to his brother, by provoking his pride, and by giving him a distrust of all who surrounded him. There are many of his letters to the Duke of York in the Scots college at Paris, which shew that he was steady to his brother's interest, because he thought it his own.

When the strength of the two parties, which had been forming during the interruption of parliament, was marshalled, it was found, that, though the popular interest prevailed in the House of Commons, the King's was superior among the Lords, who, in most of the late conflicts, had, as usual, supported the crown against the House of Commons. The Lords, by a majority of thirty, rejected the bill.

Exclusion
disappoint-
ed;

But the Commons disgraced the spirit with which they had conducted the exclusion, by getting the blood of the old and innocent Lord Stafford shed for the popish plot, partly to wreak their vengeance for their disappointment, but more to strike terror into those who should for the future oppose them. The hardest part of his fate was to fall unprotected by his sovereign, and a victim to his sovereign's mistress, both of whom knew that he was guiltless. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, in the rage of her disappointment because the exclusion had not succeeded, attended the trial, dealing sweetmeats and smiles amongst his prosecutors. Many measures of the House of Commons and of the city followed, which discovered not only their discontents, but their intentions to controul government, and embark the rest of the nation in their cause.

In order to prevent this junction of interests, the King suddenly dissolved the parliament in January 1681.

and the
third par-
liament
dissolved.

Charles was the more emboldened to take this step, because he was under-hand trying measures for a renewal of his old connexions with Louis the XIVth.

Private ne-
gotiations
with
France.

In the spring and summer of the year 1680, the French court, sensible of their imprudence in disappointing the negotiation of the former year, made advances to Charles. He stood off; though with reproaches of kindness: "Your master committed two faults," said he to Barillon; "the one when he forced me into the triple alliance, the other when he forced me into an alliance with Spain." But upon his differences with his third parliament, he listened to a new private treaty with Louis. The proposals made to him were, that he should have a pension of two millions of livres for one year, and 1,500,000 livres for two more; that he should withdraw himself from his late Spanish alliance, and recall his Ambassadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke should return; that Roman Catholics should be favourably treated, and the penal laws against them suspended; and, lastly, THAT CHARLES SHOULD NEVER MORE CALL A PARLIAMENT; a condition which Louis had often pointed at in his former treaties with Charles, and which of all others is the most flattering to an English reader, because it shows the consciousness of France, how much her own grandeur depends upon the fall of English liberty. The Duke of York, whose impatience was increased in proportion to his distance from the scene of action, upon hearing that a negotiation was on foot, instantly dispatched Churchill from Scotland to press it forward in his master's name. But the French, afraid of being disturbed by his keenness, kept the treaty a secret from the Duke, at the very time when they were making provisions for his interest in it. But Charles, conscious that he could close with France at any time upon the conditions offered; that the effect of them would be to expose him to insignificance abroad, and to quarrels at home; and though never sufficiently sensible of the first
of

of all truths to a British monarch*, that the interests of the King and of the people are inseparable; yet, perhaps, feeling compunction upon the immediate prospect of destroying a constitution of a thousand years standing, and which, had he been even a tyrant, he must have revered, he kept the treaty open by means of Lord St. Alban's; but in the mean time called another parliament to try, by one last effort, if it was possible to reconcile himself with his people, before he threw himself for ever into the arms of their enemies.

The place that he chose for the meeting of a parliament, which was in all probability to determine the fate of his family and of his kingdom, was Oxford; a place as remarkable for its loyalty, as the city of London, from its wealth, and love of liberty, and even of licentiousness, had ever since the conquest been remarkable for opposition to royal power. But the change of place could not change the humours of men. The innovation even raised new objects of passion: For the King's aversion to his capital was construed into an aversion to his people: And the Whig party spread abroad, that they were not safe to assemble in a place so remote from the great seat of the protestant interest, and where they might be massacred, even by the soldiers of that religion in the King's guards. In order to convey this last insinuation more strongly through the nation, sixteen peers petitioned the King against the place of assembly; the rest of the popular party, either pretending fears, or really feeling them, came to Oxford, with great numbers, not of servants, but of friends and armed braves, in their trains. Hence a panic struck all around the King, and the King himself; and he en-

Charles's
last parliament.

* The words of his present Majesty at opening one of the sessions of the present parliament, ought never to be forgot: "I have, "I can have no interest separate from that of my people."

tered a town occupied by gowmsmen, attended with an unusual number of guards. Shaftesbury alone, who had raised all these mischiefs, came to Oxford in a borrowed coach, with two footmen belonging to another on the back of it.

His offers
to parlia-
ment.

Charles, in this parliament, made two proposals to his people; one was, to consent to almost any limitations upon the power of a popish successor, they could ask; the other, to settle the government, after his death, in the Princess of Orange, as regent during her father's life, while the title and parade of a King should remain in his person. He had lately communicated the last of these schemes at a distance to the Prince of Orange; but the Prince slighted it, perhaps because it took no notice of himself; it was now proposed by Sir John Ernly, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and supported by others of the King's servants. But the Prince was more afraid of the first of the King's offers, and wrote strongly to the King's ministers against it. In one of his applications on this head, he expressed himself, "That he would consent to any other expedient, to reconcile the King and his parliament;" words from a person so cautious as he was, which perhaps sufficiently explained that the expedient he pointed at was the exclusion. It is not improbable that in both of these proposals Charles meant only to distract and divide the exclusionists. At least it is certain that whilst he was offering the scheme of limitations to parliament, he was under-hand assuring the Prince of Orange, that he intended to disappoint it if accepted. And yet from the depth of his dissimulation it is not impossible that he may have been sincere in both, in order to secure his own quiet during his own life, leaving posterity to take care of itself*.

* Vid. Append. to this chapter.

But whether the condescensions of the King proceeded from distress or from art, they proved equally unavailing; for nothing less than an exclusion would satisfy the House of Commons. Charles therefore hastily struck up with Barillon, on the 24th of March 1681, the private treaty which he had hitherto kept in suspense, in which, to comply with his scruples, the original proposals of France were somewhat softened, and he was only obliged to disengage himself from his alliance with Spain *by degrees*, and to *put himself in a state not to be constrained* by parliament to counteract the engagements he was taking*. The conditions about the Duke of York and the Roman Catholics were dropped; and Barillon gave a general assurance that his master should not attack Strasburg, or the low countries. Lord Hyde and Lord St. Alban's were the only persons privy to the treaty, the terms of which were not even made known to the last of them. Barillon pressed that the treaty should be reduced into writing, conscious of the advantage which the possession of it would have given his master over Charles: But Charles refused, and it was only verbally agreed upon; a circumstance which, as happens in all other verbal pactions, gave afterwards an opportunity to Louis to cavil upon the terms of it.

Private
treaty with
France.

As soon as Charles had finished the treaty, he dissolved his parliament, with a resolution never to call another, published an appeal to the people at large against the proceedings of the late parliaments, and dismissed Lord Sunderland from his service. This was the fourth parliament which, in the space of two years, he in anger dissolved,

Parliament
dissolved.

* The words are, *a se degager peu a peu de l'alliance avec l'Espagne, et a se mettre en etat de ne point etre contraint par son parlement, de faire quelque chose d'opposé aux nouveaux engagements qu'il prenoit.*

At his brother's suggestion he then retrenched the expences of his court; prepared to withdraw the garrison from Tangier, with the double view of saving money, and encreasing his army by the addition of the garrison; and endeavoured to gain friends among the high gentry, by the distribution of fifteen peerages in one year.

Such was the state of things in England, at the period when the following Memoirs begin*.

* Vid. the authorities for the narrative of this chapter in the Appendix to it. The parts of that Appendix are so intimately connected, that it was impossible to break it into parts in separate references in the notes.

A P P E N D I X

TO

CHAPTER IV. OF THE REVIEW.

Third period. From the fall of Lord Danby's ministry until the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles the Second.

THE fall of Lord Danby's ministry, and the dissolution of the parliament, which were accompanied by the prosecution of the popish plot and by the bill of exclusion, caused Charles speedily to turn his eyes back to France.

The Duke of York, who saw that the storm would first break upon his head, had endeavoured, even before Lord Danby was impeached, to make provision against danger with France. Barillon writes to his court on the 17th Nov. 1678, that the Duke of York complained to him that Lord Danby had adopted the sentiments of parliament against popery and France to gain popularity to himself; and that the Duke proposed the army should be kept on foot, notwithstanding the resolutions of parliament to disband it; that the parliament itself should be dissolved, and that to facilitate these ends, the union between Louis and his brother should be renewed: Barillon adds, that the Duke desired him not to let the King or Lord Danby know of his having suggested these things to him.

Mountague also, in order to gain advantage from the mischiefs he had created, endeavoured to persuade Barillon

rillon to bring about a reconciliation between Louis and Charles. Barillon writes to his court 5th Jan. 1678-9; that Mountague had urged him to advise Charles to dismiss his army and give up Danby, and if Charles consented, to assure him of the assistance of France.

On the 5th Jan. 1678-9, Barillon writes, that upon Lord Danby's impeachment Charles pressed Barillon to prevail with Louis to give him assistance, saying, that the attack upon the Catholics was only an attack upon the common cause of royalty. Barillon answered, that Charles ought to disband his army before he could expect it;—"For that is the essential point."

Whatever reason Charles had to be startled at a demand from France for disbanding his army, he renewed the conversation a few days after with Barillon, the particulars of which are in the following dispatch.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 9th Jan. 1679.—Charles begs the assistance of France.—Offers to submit on any conditions, and to keep as few troops as Louis thinks proper.—In the Depot.

"THE King of England drew me aside this evening, and told me that he would discourse me to-morrow or after to-morrow with more leisure; but that he charged me to assure your Majesty he wished nothing so much as your friendship, and to make a strict union which nothing might alter; that he should have an extreme joy to owe his safety and preservation to you, and would not refuse any conditions your Majesty desired; that he very well knew by all I had said to him, that the keeping the army on foot, or any part of it, was regarded

garded as a matter dangerous to the interests of France; that his design was to disband his troops, and only keep what your Majesty might think proper; that if you demanded other securities, he would consent to all; but it was necessary also he should know if your Majesty would give him assistance and supply in the extremity to which he is reduced, because otherwise he would be obliged to take other measures less agreeable to him, but which he should be under an absolute necessity to do. I answered in general terms, and avoided entering into any detail. I believe they will speak to me positively, and that the King of England will consent to disband his troops, provided your Majesty will assist him to support himself for some time. Although I am informed of your Majesty's intentions, and that I well know I ought to avoid entering into a negotiation which will end in a demand of three or four millions; I don't know how far your Majesty will have me evade the proposal, nor do I see how I can avoid its being made to me.

I also know by what Lord Sunderland said this evening to me, that they will make a last effort to have your Majesty's support, and to that purpose will not disagree about any conditions. I will endeavour to gain time, and to know for truth the state of affairs in this country, to the end your Majesty may give me your orders upon the conduct I am to observe."

On the 12th Jan. 1679, Barillon writes to his court that Charles had told him,—“ That he liked better to depend upon your Majesty than upon his people;” and that he begged a supply of four millions of livres.

In January 1679 he writes, that Sunderland told him he was to go Ambassador to France,—“ to establish a

strict union between his Christian Majesty and King Charles :”—And there is in the Depot a letter from Sunderland notifying to the French court that he is soon to set out upon his embassy, and another soon after from Charles to Louis that he had stopped him.

Barillon writes on the 16th Feb. 1679, that Charles told him his reason for making Lord Sunderland his minister was, that he had always found him attached to the interests of France.

Barillon writes on the 10th Feb. 1679, that Sunderland told him, he imputed his late promotion to the same cause ; and in June thereafter he writes, that upon his saying to Lord Sunderland that there would be a good understanding between the two Kings, if those who wished to be popular were not enemies to France, Sunderland laughed, and answered ;—“ You see how well Lord Danby has fared by it.”

To all these advances the French court gave no encouragement. The reason of which may be gathered from the following circumstances.

Barillon writes on the 25th Jan. 1679, that there was at present a suspicion of a secret intelligence between Charles and the Prince of Orange, and of the Prince's having remitted 200,000*l.* to him : And on the 15th June, 1679, he writes that Henry Sidney is sent Ambassador to the Hague, and as Barillon suspects with no good intentions to France.

Barillon, on the 16th and 23d of February, 1679, writes that when he urged Charles to disband his army, Charles answered that he had no money to do it with ; and in other dispatches he writes, that Charles avoided disbanding his army, and excused himself by saying, he would

would thereby have a pretence for asking money from parliament to disband it.

Barillon on the other hand frequently writes, that the popular party in parliament were sincere and hearty in concurring with him to get the army disbanded.

He writes on the 27th March and 6th April, 1678, that though the Dukes of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland are sincerely in the interests of France, they cannot at present be of much use to those interests, because they are still under the terror of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby.

On the 8th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the power of Charles by the factions of his own dominions is entirely sunk, that an alliance with him would therefore be of no advantage with regard to foreign affairs, and that it is better to continue to court the heads of parties in order to continue his difficulties.

It is however a piece of justice to French politics, mischievous as they were at that time to England, to say, that there are no traces in the papers at Versailles of any encouragement given by France to the popish plot, though that was the great engine made use of by the popular party against Charles.

Charles, abandoned in this manner by France, was obliged to assemble a new parliament, to disband all his new-raised army, to send his brother into Flanders, and to trust the conduct of his affairs to a council composed of many of those who had been his most violent opposers.

From Barillon's letter to his court, May 1st, 1679, it appears that Barillon was at first enraged at the settlement of this council; imagining that it might have created an union of all parties in the domestic quiet of England and against France; but that the Duchess of Portsmouth told him, the only reasons which had brought about the measure were, that the King might get money from parliament by means of it, and that she and Lord Sunderland had thought themselves in danger from the popular party. He adds, that Lord Hollis told him he had had a hand in contriving it; and that he and Mountagu assured him it should never be turned against France.

Barillon writes, 16 March, 1678, to his court, that Charles had excused himself to him for sending his brother into banishment, by the necessity of his affairs, and that he spoke of him with the greatest tenderness. A copy of the letter from Charles to his brother, which ordered him to retire abroad, is in the Depot, as follows:

Translation.

Letter from the King of England to the Duke of York, 28th February, 1679.—Orders the Duke to retire abroad,

“MY dear brother. I have already fully told you the reasons which oblige me to send you from me for some time beyond sea.

As I am truly sorry for the cause of our separation, you may also assure yourself, that I shall never wish your absence to continue longer than is absolutely necessary for

for your good and my service. I find it however proper to let you know under my hand that I expect you will satisfy me in this; and that I wish it may be as soon as your conveniency will permit: You may easily believe that it is not without a great deal of pain I write you this, being more touched with the constant friendship you have had for me, than with any thing else in the world; and I also hope that you will do me the justice to believe for certain, that neither absence, nor any thing will hinder me from being truly and with affection yours,

Superfcription. For my most dear friend the Duke of York."

Even after Charles had ordered his brother to withdraw, he made an attempt to save him from the affront of it, by sending the bishops of Canterbury and Winchester to persuade him to return to the protestant religion. An account of the conference between the bishops and the Duke, upon this occasion, is in the *Depot* as follows:

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, March 6, 1679.—The Bishops by order of the King endeavour to bring the Duke of York back to the protestant religion.—The conference.—In the Depot.

S I R E,

"THE Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester two days ago asked a private audience of the Duke of York. They immediately said that they entreated him to permit them to speak to him upon a matter which might be disagreeable to him; that the good of the state, and of his Royal Highness's service

vice in particular, obliged them to represent to him that the change in his religion from that of the church of England would bring on such disorders hereafter, and cause such evils, that they found themselves under a necessity to exhort him to enter into a conference upon the points which are in contest between the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, and that they hoped to convince him how many reasons ought to oblige him to embrace the religion he had first professed. The Duke of York answered, that he took in good part what they had said to him, and that he was persuaded of their good intentions; that however he could not doubt but that there was much malignity in the design of those who had obliged them to hold such a discourse to him; that it was a snare laid to engage him to refuse entering into a conference which could be of no use; that he did not pretend to be wise enough to dispute with persons of profound capacity; but he had however taken all possible precautions in his change; that he had deferred it many years, and had consulted the most able protestant Bishops and Doctors; that at present his conscience was at ease, and he believed himself to be in the right road; that nothing made it necessary for him to enter into a conference with them, because he had no doubts in which he wanted to be cleared; that he would willingly hear them if they had any thing to say to him, but for his part he had no design to enter into a dispute with them. There were some replies on both sides. The prelates maintained that this conference would be attended with no inconveniencies, and appeared very useful in the present conjuncture. The Duke of York always persisted to refuse this conference. The report had been already spread abroad that he was disposed to change his religion, and that he was to go upon the first occasion to the King of England's chapel. What passed in

in this affair is regarded here by every body as a beginning which may have very dangerous consequences to the Duke of York. He knows all the consequences, and spoke to me of it as the first step which his enemies have taken, that they may go farther lengths against him. He told me that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester had spoken to him as deputies from the other Bishops who are in London, and that it was with the participation of the King of England they have proposed this conference. This Prince does not appear shaken, or resolved to deviate in any thing from the open profession he makes of the Catholic religion."

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court of the 13th March, 1679, that upon receiving the order to go abroad, the Duke of York threw himself entirely upon France; that in apology for his late appearances against the interests of Louis, he laid the fault upon his brother; and that he told Barillon he wished to take refuge in France, but was prevented against his will.

In King William's box there are the following letters to the Prince of Orange from the Duke of York during his secret exile in Flanders, which shew the extreme uneasiness of mind he was under whilst there.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize at the news of Sir William Temple's council.

Bruxelles, May 8, 1679.

“ I SEE by your's of the 5th, which I received yesterday, that you had not then heard of the great news of the making of a new council, and the Earl of Shaftesbury being president of it, which did not only surprize me very much, but all those of this country, and more especially those who govern here, they not understanding more than I do what could prevail with his Majesty to lay aside so many of his truest servants, and put all his affairs into the hands of those who for so many years have opposed and obstructed all his affairs; for my part, I dread the consequences of it, but shall be very glad to be mistaken, and wish with all my heart his Majesty may find ease in his affairs by what he has done; a little time will let us see much. I have been informed that all this great alteration was resolved on at Lord Sunderland's, none attending his Majesty there but the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The Dutchess is said to brag she helped to persuade his Majesty to do it. These people continue very civil to me.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Things tend to a republic.

Bruxells, May 11, 1679.

“ I HAVE just now received your's of the 9th, by the which I see you were surprised with what has happened in England as well as I was, and you are in the right to say one can yet make no judgment what effect it will have, time must shew it; and to return your freedom, I fear it will not have a good effect; for by the
 II last

last letters I had from thence, I am informed that all those of the House of Commons who have now upon this new change had any preferment, have already quite lost their credit in that House, and that there are already new cabals and parties setting up there amongst those who have had no preferment : So that to tell you freely my thoughts, in my mind all things tend to a republic, for you see all things tend towards the lessening of the King's authority, and the new model things are put into, is the very same it was in the time of the commonwealth ; and I fear that hardly any that are now of the council have courage enough to advise or stand by any vigorous resolution.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The exclusion bill.
—His opinion of the consequences of it.—Wishes the
Prince to go to England.*

Bruxells, May 14, 1679.

“ YOU have before this had an account of what was done by the House of Commons on this day se’nnight that concerns me ; you see how violently my enemies attack me, and that Wednesday last was the day that both Houses were to take into consideration my affair. What the issue of it will be, I expect to hear this night or to-morrow, and cannot now but look on the monarchy itself in great danger, as well as his Majesty’s person, and that not from papists, but from the commonwealth party, and some of those who were lately brought into the council, that govern the Duke of Monmouth, and who make a property of him to ruin our family ; and things go on so fast and so violently, and there are so very few left about his Majesty that have either will or courage to give good advice to him, that I tremble to think what will happen ; for if his Majesty and the

House of Lords stick to me, then one may expect great disorders, nay a rebellion : If his Majesty and they shall consent to what the Commons may do against me, I shall then look on his Majesty as less than a Duke of Venice, and the monarchy and our family absolutely ruined and given up : But what to do or what to advise as things now stand, is very hard to say. I could wish you in England, though I dare not propose it to you to go, not knowing how you might find things there, nor how it would consist with your affairs in Holland, of which I can no way judge. Therefore all I dare say to you is to desire you to consider well with yourself, whether it be fit for you to go or no. You see they would not fall upon me till the council was new-modelled, and that they had turned out four of the judges, all loyal men, and put in others in their places that I fear will find what they please law. I could write a volume upon this subject."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—On the King's proposing limitations on a Popish successor.

Bruxells, May 17, 1679.

" SINCE I wrote last to you I have had the English letters of Friday, and last night Churchill came hither, who left London on Sunday, and brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty. You will by this have seen his Majesty and Lord Chancellor's speech, which were spoken on this day se'nnight to both Houses; they had this one effect, that it put off in both places the debate that was to have been concerning me; but for all that, I do not at all flatter myself that these speeches will keep them from falling upon me, at least in the House of Commons; for I do not find they are satisfied with those so great condescensions of his Majesty; and to tell you the

the truth, I am informed by my letters that nothing will satisfy the presbyterians but the destroying of the monarchy and the setting up of a commonwealth; to which purpose they flatter the Duke of Monmouth, as the only way to bring to pass their ends and to destroy our family; and he is so indiscreet as to give into it, and so thinks he can find his account in it; and as I told you in my last, I apprehend very much for his Majesty's person from those kind of people, and I can hardly see how he can almost get out of the ill condition he is in. However, my friends have some hopes, and all advise me to leave this place and go into a protestant country, which they say may be of some advantage to me; therefore if you approve of it, I would willingly go to Breda as the properest place for me to be in to please them and to be near England, keeping still my house here furnished to come hither as occasion shall offer. Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can, that I may take my measures accordingly; for till I know whether you approve of it, I do not intend to say any thing of it here."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His indignation at the bill of exclusion.—Thinks the King steady about the exclusion.

Bruxells, May 29, 1679.

"YOU know before this what passed on Sunday was se'nnight in the House of Commons upon my subject: It was the presbyterians and the Duke of Monmouth's friends carried it, and were most violent against me; and now it is plain that those first, I mean the presbyterians, design nothing less than the ruin of the monarchy and our family; and truly I am of your mind, and think it is impossible for things there to last as they are, not a week longer, for if his Majesty does not en-

tirely submit to them, and become less than a Duke of Venice, it is my opinion they will fly out into an open rebellion; and I hope in God his Majesty will never submit as they would have him, and then the other must follow: And if his Majesty make but one step more, I mean make any farther concessions, he is gone, for if once they get the navy, purge the guards and garrisons, and put new men in, they will be absolute masters. A very few days will let us see what will become of it, and one shall know what to trust to; so that I shall stay here, and not make use of the offer you make me of going to Breda, for now what my friends in England designed by it is out of doors. But in all my misfortunes there is one thing which gives me a great deal of ease, it is that his Majesty appears very resolute for me, and exclaims, as I can desire, at what has passed the House of Commons, and is very much unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth, and uses all his endeavours to hinder the bill's passing in the House of Commons. I hope this vote of theirs will do their work for them, for they that pretend to lay aside one for his religion, may as well lay aside another for some fancy or other; but I hope his Majesty will take courage, and at last be a King."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Doubtful of the King's steadiness about the exclusion.

Bruxelles, June 1, 1679.

"**Y**OU will have seen by your last letters from England, how violently they proceed on against me; and that the bill for depriving me of the succession had had one reading, and was to be read again as on Monday last; so that except his Majesty begin to behave himself as a King ought to do, not only I, but himself and our whole

whole family are gone; and things have been let go to that pass, that the best I can expect is very great disorders, and unless something very vigorous be done within a very few days, the monarchy is gone, for the presbyterian party, which is the republican, is grown so strong, that without they receive a sudden check all is gone. A few days will now let us see what we have to trust to."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Doubtful of the King's resolutions.—Expects a civil war.

Bruxelles, June 8, 1679.

"I KNOW so well the concern you have for me as easily to believe the trouble all these extravagant proceedings of the House of Commons against me has given you; I did not think they could have been so violent, and have so soon forgot the oath of allegiance that they had so lately taken; but when one considers how strong the presbyterians are in that House, it is not so extraordinary a thing, for they will never fail to lay hold of any opportunity to down with monarchy; and Sir Tho. Clarges made a very good remark in the speech he made against the bill, that most of those that were for it, I think he said all, were either presbyterians or their sons. But I hope this, and some other proceedings of the Commons, will have so alarmed his Majesty and the Lords, that he will at last take some vigorous resolution, and they will stand by him; and I have all the assurances from my friends one can have, that if the bill come up to the House of Lords, it will be rejected there; and his Majesty, in his last letter to me of this day se'nnight, assured me the same thing. He continues very kind to me, and is unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings, but still continues kind in his mind to him, and endeavours and hopes to make him behave himself as

he ought to do. And now, as to the affairs in England, one can do nothing but guess at what may happen, for even there I think few can say what will be; what I conjecture is, that this parliament must of necessity be either dissolved or prorogued in a very few days, or the monarchy is gone; and I hope now, not only his Majesty's eyes, but all the honest men's eyes are opened, and see that a commonwealth is what is driven at, and that they will take their measures accordingly; and I have some hopes on't, since his Majesty refused the address made him for the drawing together the militia of London and parts adjacent, during the trial of the Lords: And I know he is very sensible that if he parts with any more of his power that he is gone. He has yet the fleet, the garrisons, his guards, Ireland and Scotland firm to him, so that if he will yet stand by himself he may yet be a King, but for all that it cannot be without trouble and hazard; but firmness and good husbandry may carry him through all his difficulties; and I am very apt to believe, that whensoever he shews he will be no longer used as he has been, and that they see he will be a King, that there will be a rebellion. I have told you my mind freely; a few days will let one know what to trust to."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Conceives hopes from the long prorogation.—Was not privy to it.

Bruxelles, June 10, 1679.

"I BELIEVE you will have been surprised to have heard of the prorogation of the parliament till the middle of August; till I hear from his Majesty I can make no judgment of it, which I expect to do to-morrow or next day; when I do I shall inform you of it. Methinks it looks like a dissolution, and some vigorous resolutions taken, else why so long a prorogation? Which is all I shall say to you till I hear again from England."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Disappointed at not being sent for upon the prorogation of the parliament.

Bruxelles, June 15, 1679.

“ **W**HEN Colonel Wesley went from hence I had some hopes of being soon sent for by his Majesty, believing by the prorogation vigorous counsels would have been taken; but by some things have been done since, I have reason to believe such counsels will not be pursued, and consequently I not sent for: But of this I shall not be able to make any certain judgment till the end of next week; when I hear any thing I shall be sure to acquaint you with it.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Bruxells, June 22, 1679.

“ **I** WAS in hopes by this time to have had a letter from his Majesty by Graham, who he said he would write by before he went to Windsor, but he is not yet come, and I am still ignorant of the reasons that moved his Majesty to declare in council he would not let me return during the prorogation: And though, by some things which had been done since that time, I did begin to believe I should not be sent for so soon, yet I confess I was somewhat surpris'd at his Majesty declaring it so, and now do not expect to be sent for in haste, for I hardly believe I shall be sent for when the parliament meets.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Bruxells, June 26, 1679.

“ I HAVE just now received your's of the 22d, and have now less hopes than ever of being sent for; for notwithstanding the rebellion in Scotland, which I thought might have served for an argument for my being called for home, by letters I have this day received from his Majesty by Graham, I find he does not yet think fit to send for me, though he gives me all the assurances imaginable of his desiring it, but concludes for several reasons (which would be too long now to write, the post being ready to go) that it would not be for his service nor my good to send for me yet, so that to deal freely with you, I am afraid so long as Lord Shaftesbury and some others, who shall be nameless, are at the head of affairs, I am not like to be called for home.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Has asked leave to come home.—Doubtful about his own fate.

Bruxells, July 3, 1678.

“ I HAD your's of the 26th of last month on Friday last, since when I would not write to you till now, and do easily believe the trouble it is to you, that there is so little likelihood of my being sent for by his Majesty; I have again ventured to write to him upon that subject, and have given him my reasons why I think it for his service to send for me to him, and that presently. What effect that will have I may know by the end of this week or the beginning of the next, and then shall know what to trust to; for if I be not sent for upon my last letters, I shall have little hopes to see England this good while,

while, and shall have reason to fear those measures will be taken which must ruin our family, and with it the monarchy; for the republican party get ground every day, being backed by the presbyterians. As for the affairs in Scotland, that rebellious crew that is up in arms will I believe be soon dispersed, they having no considerable men amongst them; but I think what may follow upon the Duke of Monmouth's going down thither, may be of ill consequence.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The monarchy depends not on parliament, but on God alone.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 6, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 4th from Houndslardike, and by it see your news from England concerning Scotland agrees with mine, and believe the affairs in that country quieted by this; but I am not at all of your mind as to what concerns the meeting of the parliament, for I can hope for no good from it, but on the contrary all the ill imaginable, and not only to me but to his Majesty and whole family, as may appear by the bill that was read in the House of Commons against me, which was against law, and which destroys the very being of monarchy, which I thank God yet has had no dependancy on parliament, nor on nothing but God alone, nor ever can and be a monarchy; and his Majesty will be of this mind, and never let this House of Commons sit again; if he does, he is ruined for ever.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Still in doubts
about his own fate.*

Bruxells, July 9, 1679.

“ I EXPECT with great impatience to have an answer to my last long letter to his Majesty; and though the wind has been contrary these two or three days last past, yet I hope by to-morrow night or Tuesday to hear something, and if it be any thing to my satisfaction, I shall be sure to let you know it; if it be only delays and puttings off, I shall stay to let you know it by the post. I believe the next letters will bring us news of the rebels in Scotland being defeated. I see by your’s of the 7th, which I received this day, that the same report which was some time since at Nimeguen of my being gone into France is now come where you are. I cannot imagine how such a story should be made, since there was no ground for it, nor was it ever talked on here; but there are so many lies made in all places, and sworn to in England, that one ought not to wonder at any stories that are made: And I believe you will very soon see the Queen fallen upon with a design of taking her life, else those three great villains Otes, Bedlow and Dugdall, would not have behaved themselves so insolently as they did the other day at council, when they were sent for by his Majesty and asked there what they had to say at Sir G. Wakeman’s trial against her Majesty, and positively refused to do it.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 16, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED your’s of the 12th after the post was gone, so that I could not answer it till now, and though I may have mistaken you, I am still of opinion that this House of Commons if ever they meet will fall again upon me, and never do any thing but harm to his Majesty’s affairs; and it would be a great blow to the monarchy to let them sit again that did but offer to meddle with the succession; and had I any power with his Majesty, they should not meet. I could say very much on this subject to lett you see I am in the right, but have not time, the post being ready to go, to say any more.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King has refused to permit him to come home.—He is in despair.

Bruxells, July 19, 1679.

“ I N my last I told you I expected every hour an answer to my letters I wrote by Graham; I have now had it, but no good one, for I must still remain a banished man abroad, and have no other answer given me, but that it is for his Majesty’s service and for my own safety; so that my reasons have not prevailed at all, nor can I ever expect to be recalled so long as those who are now at the head of his Majesty’s affairs continue to govern; and I fear very much that the next sessions of parliament, let it be when it will, will be a fatal one, not only for me, but for the very monarchy itself, let his Majesty or any body else flatter themselves as much as they please to the contrary.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke's joy at the dissolution of the 2d parliament.—Yet anxious for himself.

Bruxells, July 26, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED your's so late of the 21st last post, that I could not answer it then, since when I believe you have heard as well as I that his Majesty dissolved this parliament, and called another to meet in October. I am very glad he has done it, and think he must have given up his crown to them had he not done it after the insolent behaviour of the House of Commons to him. I hope it will teach the next better manners; but in case they should follow the footsteps of that which is now broken, I hope they will be served after the same manner. Nobody desires more than I that there may be a good union between the King and his parliament, but I am not for their using him so insolently as this last did, nor for their meddling with the succession, nor making of Kings, with which they have nothing to do; and I am glad of this dissolution, though it rather retards my being sent for than advances it, for I always consider more what is more for his Majesty's service and the good of our family than any private concern of my own. I find my enemies continue in favour as much as ever, and are at the head of affairs, and as long as that continues I have little hopes of seeing England.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The dissolution of the parliament will not cause him to be recalled.

Bruxells, July 30, 1679.

“ I HAD your's of the 25th but yesterday, by which I find you had not then the news of a new parliament being to be in October; I suppose you had it soon after,

after, and you will have seen I am prepared for patience, not expecting to be sent for home in haste; and truly, I do not see any likelihood when it can be, so long as I have such enemies about his Majesty, and therefore have need of a great stock of patience, I acknowledge. I hope it will last, and you may be sure I shall do nothing hastily, I have not erred on that side yet. I wish in England some considered the good of our family so much as I do, and then things would go better than they do; and to speak freely to you, I have but a very dismal prospect of our affairs in general, and I do not see without a miracle how they can be mended, for his Majesty has so given up himself into the hands of his new counsellors, that I can see nothing but the ruin of the monarchy; and that which I think is a very bad sign, is, that his Majesty is not so sensible as he should be of the ill condition he is in; you see I speak very freely to you of affairs as I think they now are, and shall always do so."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King orders him to continue abroad.

Bruxells, Aug. 10, 1679.

"I HAD yesterday an express from England, who brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty, but tells me I must have patience till the meeting of the parliament, and the trial of the Lords in the Tower is over; that then he hopes things may be in so good a temper as to make it fit for him to send for me over, and till then I must have patience, and will do what I can to divert myself in the mean time."

In Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's History, there are the following accounts of three of the Duke of York's letters from Brussels :

" P. 452. By his own letters from Brussels, he seems very well satisfied with the civilities he received there, but seems very jealous of the King. In one dated the 22d of July, he writes: There is one thing troubles me very much, and puts odd thoughts into my head, it is, that all this while his Majesty has never said a word, nor gone about to make a good understanding between me and the Duke of Monmouth, for though it is a thing I shall never seek, yet methinks it is what his Majesty might press. Think of this, and I am sure you may draw consequences from it, which I shall not mention to you, but are obvious enough to any one that considers."

" P. 468. I find, by the Duke's letters, he was pleased with the dissolution, but not with the so speedy calling of another (i. e. parliament), which he said was only two months delay, and was giving them so much time to concert their measures better against their next meeting; for he had little hopes a new parliament would differ much from the last; but his jealousies of the King continued; for in one he says, it is strange his Majesty has not written to me, neither in answer to what I wrote by Graham, nor now upon breaking the parliament: I am not used like a brother nor a friend. Press to have some mark of displeasure shewn to Armstrong; if that be not done I know what I am to expect."

" P. 475. The Duke writes, in a letter from Brussels, I see his Majesty has been much misinformed as to some things concerning the Duke of Monmouth, for Lord Chancellor Hyde never went about to put any jealousies into my head of my nephew; what he did about the patent,

patent, was only what any man that understood the law was obliged to ; and I do not remember he ever opened his mouth to me of it : And till he spake to me himself at Windfor, five or six years ago, of his having a mind to be general, I never took any thing ill of him, nor grew jealous of him ; but after what I had said to him upon that subject of my reasons against it, and that I told him then freely he was not to expect my friendship if ever he pretended to it or had it. One cannot wonder if I was against any thing that did increase his power in military affairs, as his being colonel of foot guards would have done, especially when I saw he used all little arts, by degrees, to compass his point of being general."

Charles, in the mean time, was not less unhappy in England than his brother was abroad.

Barillon writes, on the 23d January, 1679, that Charles said he was so poor that he was to recall all his ambassadors, " from want of money."

Barillon writes, on the 18th May, 1679, that in order to take business and importance from the King, Sir William Temple's council had made a regulation that foreign ministers should not speak to him without first asking an audience.

Others of Barillon's dispatches relate that Charles complained bitterly of this ; and that when Barillon saw him, the meetings were in secret, and with many signs, on the King's part, of the fear of detection. As Charles was the best actor in the world, these things may not be true ; and yet perhaps they may.

On the 18th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him the King complained greatly of the indifference of France to his present sufferings.

On

On the 6th July, 1679, Barillon writes his court a long account of a discourse of Charles to him at a secret meeting; in which that Prince, in very abject terms, begged the protection of France from his new council and from parliament, and laid the blame of his late differences with France, upon his brother and Lord Danby. —“ The end of this long discourse was, to press me to represent to your Majesty what was passing here, and to conjure you, on his part, to incline to put England under your dependance for ever.”

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, that there had been a renewal of the conversation, on the King's part, to the same purpose.

Many of the most extravagant schemes of faction are to be found in Barillon's accounts of English affairs about this time.

He writes, on the 30th January, 1679, to his court, that Mountagu had proposed France should aid Monmouth in getting him declared Prince of Wales; that Mountagu said he did so by orders of Monmouth, who had told him that Charles secretly wished it, and only wanted the support of France to bring it about. Barillon says Mountagu intends to go to Louis the XIVth to propose this scheme; and that the arguments which Mountagu used were, that a disputed succession in England would be of advantage to France; and that the severities against Roman Catholics in England would cease, if the hopes which some entertained of the Prince of Orange's succession, and the fears which others formed from the prospect of the Duke of York's succession, were at an end.

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham boasted to him that he was in no English party,

party, but only in that of Louis the XIVth ; and that he insinuated his own pretensions to the succession ; recounting that by his mother, who was descended from Edward the IVth, he was himself a Plantagenet.

On the 14th September, 1679, and other dispatches, Barillon writes that Buckingham advised him to give himself no trouble about the pretenders to the crown, but to court and form his connexions in the city, which Buckingham pretended was at his direction, and could command the fate of government. And afterwards, on the 28th October, 1680, Barillon writes that Buckingham boasted to him of his vast power with the city and the dissenters.

There is in the Depot a letter from Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, in November, 1678, in which he tells that Prince that the Duke of York and Lord Danby had formed a project to get him dethroned, by raising a rebellion in France, and gives him warning that there are certain Irishmen employed to assassinate him. In the same letter he asks a supply of money from Louis.

Barillon writes, on the 20th April, 1679, that Buckingham is gone to propose a project to Louis the XIVth, but that he would not let him know what it was.

Profligacy in public and in private life go generally together. Barillon writes, on the 16th March, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham dares not attend the House of Lords in the prosecution of Lord Danby, because Danby threatened him with a prosecution for sodomy.

During this period Charles made a feeble attempt to provide some security for himself at home, by forming two hundred of his disbanded officers into a company of

guards, with a view to have officers ready if he should afterwards raise troops; but in this he was checked by one of his own ministers, the Earl of Essex. When Lord Essex was seized, some years after, on account of the Ryehouse plot, the messenger reported that he found the two following letters in his cabinet. The first is a copy, the other an original; both are in the paper office.

Earl of Essex to Charles the IIId.—Pressing him to disband his new guards.

* SINCE my coming to towne I have heard of many discourses here concerning the new company of guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for, this next session of parliament; and that upon this, occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. 'Tis commonly said this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head men which may be suddenly raised: That this is an elusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and souldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have that any designe is on foot of governing by an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this, cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose

lose again that credit by framing this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise; now if monies shall be thus saved all other waies, and force encreased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being encreased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses? I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath in the treasury, for we do cleerly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there; but 'tis certain they do it now with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speake nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept what I have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aime of your Majesty's most dutifull, and most obedient subject and servant."

London, July 21, 1679.

Earl of Sunderland to Lord Effex on the same subject.

"I GAVE your Lordship's letter to the King. He cannot yet be perswaded that the new guards will hurt his affairs so much as I believe they will. Sir William T. is now here, and will speak to him of them; so will the Dutchesse of P. I have done it, and will again. I shall wait upon your Lordship to-night or to-morrow morning, and give you a more perfect account of this matter."

Tuesday.

After Louis the XIVth had kept King Charles in a painful suspense for some months, subsequent to the dissolution of Lord Danby's ministry, he listened to his complaints, to which it is probable the dissolution of his second parliament contributed, and a secret money treaty as usual was set on foot between the two Princes, the particulars of which follow.

The first condition which France exacted in listening to this treaty was, that Charles should not assemble a parliament for a number of years. Charles at first avoided to engage himself to this, but afterwards consented not to assemble it for three years, and after that time not until Louis should give him leave. The two following dispatches contain an account of these things.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, August 3, 1679.—Charles asks four millions from France in a new treaty.—Avoids a promise not to assemble parliaments.

“TWO days ago the King of England gave me a long audience in Lady Portsmouth's apartment at Windsor. I told him how much your Majesty took part in the unfortunate situation of his affairs, and your desire to afford a remedy which might re-establish them. This Prince answered me, that he did not doubt but your Majesty was displeased to see monarchy attacked so violently as it is in England, and that it was not for your interest it should be destroyed; but it was time your Majesty

Majesty should take a resolution, and determine yourself to assist him with a sum of money which might put him in a condition not to receive law from his subjects. That if he was certain of this help, he hoped he should find means to re-establish his affairs afterwards, and not any longer depend on the caprice of the House of Commons. I took this occasion to beg his Britannic Majesty to explain his intentions with regard to the sitting of parliament; and I represented to him that it was very difficult for your Majesty to take any resolution till you were fully informed of the conduct which would be followed here with regard to the meeting of parliament, and, without knowing if he designed to go on without one for a long time, or only to put off the session by frequent prorogations. The King of England answered, that I saw what he had just done; and that, without having any answer from your Majesty, or knowing your intentions with regard to him, he had taken the part of dissolving the parliament; that he could still put off the meeting of a new one, according as he knew the good or bad dispositions of those who composed it; that however he could not engage or promise to dispense altogether with parliament, because he had no hopes that your Majesty would furnish the sums necessary for sustaining the expences of the state, and supporting him long without the assistance of parliament; that he only expected some present marks of your Majesty's good will, which might put him in a condition of gaining time, and shewing the malecontents that he was not reduced to put himself into their hands: That nobody knew better than him how important it was that what your Majesty may do for him should remain secret and impenetrable. This Prince afterwards entered into a detail of his affairs, and explained to me how much his revenues are diminished. He made me understand that
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the loss he suffers cannot be entirely repaired but by parliament; but to bring this about, it was necessary his subjects should know that he could do without them; and that then they will be more tractable, and follow a different conduct from that they have lately held. I told him, that the meetings of parliament always appeared to me very dangerous, and that it was difficult to promise himself any thing from it favourable to his interests; and that he would be always exposed to see the parliament carry itself in every thing contrary to France, and perhaps force him to enter into such measures himself. The King of England interrupted me upon this, and said; I see the state to which I am at present reduced; don't believe I will let myself be constrained to do any thing that can deprive me of the only prop which can support me. The obligation I shall be under to the King your master, will retain me all my life in his interests, even though I did not know by experience how dangerous it would be for me to lose his friendship: He must trust to me and believe that nothing will be capable to make me forget what I shall owe to him. I will not let affairs go so far, as that parliament shall be able to compel me: And for this I will form every engagement, and give every security that can be desired.

After this general discourse, he told me he begged to be soon informed of your Majesty's intentions, and that I would use my endeavours to get a precise and formal answer; that he was ashamed to speak to me so pressingly, and to be reduced to ask a present supply from your Majesty without being able to offer any thing on his own part: That if your Majesty will give him a supply that may be serviceable to him, it must be a sum of four millions; that he shall consider it as a gift; but that he hopes nevertheless to be in a condition one day of
returning

returning it to your Majesty, when his affairs shall be in a better way."

Barillon adds in this dispatch, that he suspects Charles will not keep faith with France after he has touched the four millions.

There are in the Depot at Versailles many letters from Barillon concerning the adjusting the terms of the treaty, the conduct of which was committed to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland. The dispatches shew the intention of it was, that the Duke of York should return, that the King should assemble no parliament for three years, that neither party should enter into treaties prejudicial to the other, that France should not attack Flanders, and that Charles should have a pension. Lord Sunderland asked six millions of livres the first year, and four millions the two next. The Dutchess of Portsmouth came down to four millions for each year. The King himself went lower, offering to take nine millions for the three years, provided four were paid the first year; and haggled hard for these terms. Barillon writes Oct. 2, 1679, that the Duke of York offered to lend his own money to Louis as a mark of his confidence, and to facilitate the money part of the treaty; and Barillon in his letter of 2d Nov. suggests to his court that the first payment shall be made to Charles out of his brother's money. In the middle of the treaty, Barillon proposed instead of a pension for three years, to give 500,000 crowns if Charles would engage to call no parliament before the end of March then next: Charles, enraged at this shifting of ground, threatened instantly to assemble his parliament and trust himself to it. At last both parties agreed in a pension of one million of livres per annum for three years.

In the course of this treaty the following expressions relative to it were made use of by the King, Lord Sunderland,

derland, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, the Duke of York, and Barillon separately.

Charles's words were :—" That your Majesty might remain in the most glorious state that any King has been in for many ages, and put it out of the power of England ever to hurt you." And again :—" This Prince (Charles) repeated afterwards all that he had so often said to me, of the advantages which your Majesty might derive from having England always dependent on you." With regard to Sunderland, Barillon says :—" My Lord Sunderland enlarged very much upon the advantages which your Majesty might reap from having the King of England dependant upon you." The Dutchess of Portsmouth said :—" If your Majesty will give four millions a year, for three years, the King of England will enter into all the engagements your Majesty can desire." The Duke of York, who had come over to England in the course of the treaty, said :—" He hopes your Majesty will consider, that his religion and his attachment to France are the sources of the opposition which he meets with in England." Barillon says :—" I know by all that has been said to me, that if the sum was agreed upon, there would be no difficulty about the rest ; that is to say, they would give your Majesty a *carte blanche* upon every thing you could desire ; and they would enter into all sorts of engagements not to make any treaty with foreign Princes without your consent, and even oblige themselves to enter into all your interests, and to favour all your designs."

King Charles having communicated to his brother his intention of a treaty with France, the Duke immediately dispatched Colonel Churchill from Brussels to Paris to

forward it. In the Depot there are the two following letters from the Duke to Louis the XIVth, and Monsi. de Pomponne, upon this occasion.

Translation.

Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 4th September, 1679.—Sends Colonel Churchill to Paris to forward a treaty between Louis and Charles.—Begs the protection of France.

“THE King my brother having communicated to me what has passed between him and Mr. de Barrillon, for renewing the union and good correspondence that was formerly between you, I thought it necessary to let your Majesty know my sentiments upon that head; and this has obliged me to send the bearer, Mr. Churchill, master of my wardrobe, to whom you may give entire credit, to assure your Majesty of the joy I had to find the King my brother in this way of thinking, as I believe there can be nothing more advantageous for both. With regard to myself, unless the treaty is concluded, and a good correspondence established before the meeting of a parliament, my affairs will be in a very bad condition. I hope your Majesty will have the goodness to think of it, and forward what may be proposed to you upon it. It is from you I expect all, and by you alone I can attain my re-establishment in this country. In fine, the bearer will speak to you more at large upon all affairs here, and make known to you that I shall have an eternal gratitude for all your Majesty’s goodness to me, and that I have all imaginable respect for you, being more than any one, Sir, your Majesty’s very affectionate brother, cousin, and servant.”

Translation.

The Duke of York to Mons. de Pomponne, 4th September, 1679.—To the same purpose.

“ **A**S I send the bearer, Mr. Churchill, master of my wardrobe, to speak to the King your master upon the subject of the proposals which have been made to Mr. Barillon, and to testify my joy that the King my brother is desirous of renewing the ancient good correspondence that heretofore was between them; I have charged him to speak to you at large thereupon; and you may give entire credit to every thing he shall say on my part; therefore I shall say nothing more to you than to beg you to continue your good offices for me with the King your master, and to believe that I shall always be entirely one of your friends.”

The French court believing that the treaty would go easier on if the Duke of York was in England, advised King Charles to recall his brother. In the Depot there is the following letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, thanking him for this.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 18 October, 1679.—Thanks him for having prevailed with King Charles to recall him from abroad.—Begs his protection.

S I R,

“ **I** CANNOT express to your Majesty with what joy I received the two letters which you were pleased to write to me, which I had the satisfaction to find at my return

return to Brussels, as they shew me that your Majesty has still a kindness for me : I beg you to believe that I have all imaginable gratitude for it, and that I look upon the orders I have received from the King my brother, to repass the sea, as the effects of those which you gave to Mr. Barillon. I intend to embark to-morrow, and hope your Majesty will continue to me your protection. From you it is that I expect to be again solidly settled near the King my brother, and shall use my endeavours to shew your Majesty that I shall be all my life in your interests, and seek opportunities of making it appear to you, that I have all the respect imaginable for you, and that all my life I shall be, Sir, your Majesty's very affectionate brother, cousin, and servant."

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court, of 9th October, 1679, that the secret of the intended treaty was then, and not till then, communicated to Lord Hyde. After this the treaty moves slowly on; the King hesitates about that part which relates to parliament; the ministers desire the treaty may be verbal, or at least only signed by the King; the dispatches describe in strong terms the terrors of Lord Hyde and Lord Sunderland in making themselves parties to the treaty at all; and at length an alteration made by the French court upon one of the conditions of the treaty, afforded them an opportunity of breaking it off in the end of November, 1679. The alteration was upon that part which provided that neither Prince should enter into alliances prejudicial to the other. Barillon, upon the margin of the King of France's part of this engagement, added these words: "That is to say, to make no offensive treaty against his Britannic Majesty." Charles's ministers saw, and, as Barillon relates, represented to the French court, but in vain, that the obligation upon the King of France

was not so extensive as upon the King of England; that the ministers who submitted to such an inequality might lose their heads if it was ever discovered; and that under the words of the alteration, the French were at liberty even to guarantee the right of fishing disputed between the English and the Dutch, and thus draw England into a war with Holland, in which France would not only not be on the side of England, but be obliged to act against her.

A copy of the intended treaty, with the marginal note which was the cause of breaking it off, is in the Depot as follows. It will not escape the observation of the reader in perusing it, that the French part of it was to be sealed by the great seal of France, whereas the English part of it was to be signed by the King of England alone, without any of his ministers, and to be sealed by his privy seal.

Translation.

Draught of a treaty.—France is not to attack the Low Countries.—Neither party is to make alliances without consent of the other.—Charles is not to assemble a parliament for three years.—And to get a pension of a million of livres per annum for that time.

“THE most Christian King and the King of Great Britain having always wished to preserve a strict and entire union between their persons, states, and kingdoms, of which they have given reciprocal and infallible marks in late times, their intention is now to renew the engagements they entered into a long time ago for a firm and inviolable friendship. To effect this, his most Christian Majesty hath given full powers to the
 Sieur

Sieur Barillon, counsellor in ordinary in his council of state, and his ambassador extraordinary in England, to agree with his Britannic Majesty (or such persons as he may please to appoint) on conditions of a treaty. His Britannic Majesty on his part hath consented to stand bound himself, and to sign the following articles :

I. His most Christian Majesty having a sincere and true intention to preserve the peace which has been concluded at Nimeguen, promises not to attack the Low Countries that are under the dominion of Spain, nor those that are under the dominion of the States General of the United Provinces, during three years.

II. His Britannic Majesty promises during the said term of three years not to make any treaty nor alliance with any Prince or State whatsoever, without the participation and consent of his most Christian Majesty ; and his said Britannic Majesty renounces from this time all treaties he may heretofore have made with any Prince or State which may prove inconsistent with the friendship and good intelligence he desires to keep with his most Christian Majesty ; and his said Britannic Majesty consents that whatever may have been concluded shall remain null in that respect.

Article proposed by the King of England.

III. His most Christian Majesty promises equally not to make any treaty during the term of three years with any Prince or State whatsoever to the prejudice of his Britannic Majesty*.

All the above has been consented to, and agreed upon between the King of England and the said Ambassador, and signed with his Britannic Majesty's hand, who promises to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and obliges him-

* The French Ambassador proposes to add to this article the following words :
That is to

say, not to make any offensive league against his Britannic Majesty.

self to deliver the ratification of it sealed with his privy seal within three weeks to be computed from this day. In like manner the said *Sieur Barillon*, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the King of Great Britain, has signed, and promised in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and to deliver the King his master's ratification sealed with the great seal within the said time of three weeks. Done at London this, &c."

Secret Article.

" I. **H**IS most Christian Majesty promises to pay to his Britannic Majesty the sum of one million of livres tournois per annum for three years, to be computed from this day, which sum of one million shall be paid every year in London by four equal payments from three months to three months; upon condition always that his Britannic Majesty shall not assemble his parliament during three years; and in case during the said three years the parliament shall be assembled, his most Christian Majesty may cause the payments that remain to cease.

II. His Britannic Majesty considering for many reasons which regard only the interior of his kingdom, and which cannot be foreseen, that he may be under the necessity of assembling his parliament within three years, reserves to himself the liberty of doing it, promising, in case he finds himself obliged thereto, not to suffer any thing to be treated of to the prejudice of his alliance with his most Christian Majesty, but rather to prorogue or dissolve the parliament, if he cannot otherwise prevent it; and his said Britannic Majesty consents that his most Christian

Christian Majesty shall himself be judge if the payments that shall remain to be made of a million per year ought to be continued.

The said secret articles shall have the same force as if they were expressly contained in the treaty signed this day between his Britannic Majesty and the Sieur de Barrillon, Ambassador from France, and the ratification shall be declared in the same manner, and at the same time. Done at London, &c."

Whilst attempts were making to adjust the terms of this treaty, the Duke of York had come over to England upon account of his brother's illness; but finding him recovered, he soon returned again to Brussels. During this visit there are in King William's cabinet the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He has come to England on account of his brother's illness.—Uncertain if he shall not be obliged to return.

Windsor, Sept. 6, 1679.

"I FOUND his Majesty upon the mending hand, who received me very kindly; and now, God be thanked, he has got so much strength that he walks into the Park. I cannot yet say what will become of me, having had no discourse with his Majesty; but by what I have had with some others, believe I may be sent back again, because they think it best to have me away when the parliament sits; for my part, I am content to do what his Majesty shall think best for his service. I am very glad to find I have so many friends left, and that

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his Majesty has been undeceived in one thing that had been told him, which was, that there would be a rebellion, and that the city would rise in case I came back; but neither of these have happened, and the city is very quiet, and most of the rich men there are pleased with it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to return abroad again.

Windfor, Sept. 9, 1679.

"I RECEIVED last night your's of the 12th, and see by it you were surprized at my coming hither; I have written to you since my being here, and though his Majesty will have me return back to Bruxells, which I shall obey, yet I am of opinion my journey hither will prove advantageous to me."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth disgraced.—Lord Sunderland is to manage the department of the General's business.

Windfor, Sept. 12, 1679.

"I BELIEVE you will be as much surprized with the news you will have now, as with that of my coming for England; it is, that the Duke of Monmouth is commanded to go out of England, and his command of General taken from him, which though it may make him more popular amongst the ill men, and seditious people, will quite dash his foolish hopes that he so vainly pursued. This his Majesty resolved in upon its being represented to him, that it was not reasonable to leave the Duke of Monmouth here, and send me back again into Flanders, which he thought necessary for his service.

vice. The day for my going is not yet named, for he must go first, but I believe it will be about the end of next week; he has of himself given up his command of the horse guards, desiring the Duke of Grafton may have that command; as for the generalship, no body will have it more; one of the secretaries, which will be the Earl of Sunderland, is to manage that affair, as M. de Louvois does in France. All things are very quiet in the city and country, and will continue so if his Majesty does but please."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Both Dukes are to go abroad.

Windsor, Sept. 16, 1679.

"SINCE my last to you I have received your's of the 19th from Hounſlardike, and by the last post gave you an account of what had passed concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who, as I have been informed, has not behaved himself as became him to his Majesty, for he has kept very ill company at London, and not followed his Majesty's orders in having no more to do with such kind of men. Mr. Mountagu is one of his state counsellors, and all the presbyterians and dissenting people flock to him, and endeavour to persuade him to disobey his Majesty's commands, and not to go; but his Majesty sent for him to come hither yesterday, intending, as I was told, to appoint a day for his going, and to give him good advice. I am informed the day is not set, he saying he had a great deal of business to do; however, some say it will be Monday or Tuesday next, and when he is gone I am to set out a day or two after, his Majesty being still of opinion it is for his service I should go beyond sea again; and though I am not of that mind I must obey."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

London, Sept. 23, 1679.

“ I SEE by your’s of the 26th from Hounslardike, that you were very much surprized at the news I wrote you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; I do not at all wonder at it, for most people here were so too. He has used with his Majesty all the persuasions he could to get leave to stay but for some time longer, but could not obtain it; and to-morrow he is to go. I am told he intends for Utrecht, and to stay there, having no mind to be far from hence: I am also to go away on Thursday for Bruxells, and on Friday their Majesties go for Newmarket, where his stay will not be long, at least I hope so, for his presence here is very necessary in such troublesome times as these.”

In the mean time the prospect of the success of the above treaty with France had given courage to Charles: He dismissed Shaftesbury from being president of the new council; he prorogued his parliament, and recalled his brother from abroad; yet he dared not to keep him near his person, but sent him into Scotland.

Upon this occasion there is in King William’s cabinet the following letter from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He is to go to Scotland.—Connexion between republican party in England and Holland.

London, Oct. 17, 1679.

“**I**N my last I gave you an account of my arrival here, since when his Majesty has put out Lord Shaftesbury from being president of the council; and this day the parliament was prorogued till the 26th of January, notwithstanding which my journey for Scotland continues, and I hope within a few days to begin my journey by land, though the ways are like to be very bad by reason of the great rains which have been of late, and still continue. I had not time in my last to let you know a piece of intelligence I had, which it is fit you should know; it is, that there is a private correspondence between Lord Shaftesbury and some parliament men of his faction, and some of those are called here the Louestin party in Holland, which I am sure cannot be to your advantage; and had the parliament set now, they would have proceeded in it. I hope the little man’s being out of employment here may help to break those measures; however, you would do well to look a little after it where you are, for believe me the presbyterians and other republicans here have as little kindness for you as the rest of our family, which is all I have to say now, but that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.”

It is one of the features of the Duke of York’s character, that at all times, whether when he was heir to the crown, possessed it, or had lost it, his mind was improved by misfortunes. His conduct in Scotland during

his first banishment there is known both from history and tradition to have been irreproachable. He was conscious and vain of it himself, as appears from the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Bishop Burnet's History :

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's History.

“ I N a letter dated the 14th of December, the Duke says, “ I live here as cautiously as I can, and am very careful to give offence to none, and to have no partialities, and preach to them laying aside all private animosities, and serving the King his own way. None shall have reason to complain of me ; and though some of either party here (i. e. in Scotland) might have hoped I should have shewed my partiality for them, and some of my friends have been of opinion it had been best for me to have done so, and by it have secured one side to me ; yet I am convinced it was not fit for me to do it, it being no way good for his Majesty's service, which I can make out by many reasons which would be too long for a letter.”

Secret as the attempts to a treaty between Charles and Louis had been, they did not escape the vigilant eye of the Prince of Orange. He wrote his suspicions to the Duke of York ; but the Duke denied the treaty, as appears from the following letter in King William's cabinet from him to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Denies the late attempt to a French treaty.

Edinburgh, Nov. 27, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED yesterday your’s of the 24th, and arrived here on Monday, and was received here as well as at the borders of this kingdom as well as I could expect, and truly I have great reason to be satisfied with my reception in this country. As for what you say you heard at your arrival at the Hague of a new league made between England and France, the same news has come here, a flying report, but not from good hands, and I do not believe it. But before this Mr. Sidney is with you, and can inform you better than I can who have been so long from London, and so little there, and so far from it, of what passes there.”

The prospect of the success of this treaty, which was, as Charles and his ministers expressed it, to have put England into a state of dependence upon France, and to have relieved Louis for three years from all fears of an English parliament, had had an effect in France also. It produced a parsimony in the councils of that kingdom with regard to the popular party in England. Among several instances of this in the dispatches, there is the following letter from Mr. Montagu to Monsr. de Pomponne, complaining of it as affecting himself.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Montagu to the minister, 26 October, 1679.—Claims the French King's promise for the money due to him for ruining Lord Danby.

“ **A**LTHOUGH I know you are often importuned on my account, I cannot, Sir, dispense with importuning you myself; I am pressed in so strange a manner, and have such interested persons to deal with, that I am in an embarrassment, from which I cannot draw myself without your help. You know, Sir, there are near eight months run since I absolutely fulfilled what I engaged myself for; and if you will be at the trouble of reading over the letters from this country between the 15th and the 25th October, 1678, you will see there is not the least difficulty in my affair, and that the event has even gone beyond my hopes. The person whom the King employs here has been a witness of my conduct: He knows, that to perform the engagement I entered into with him for refusing all proposals which might be made to me, however advantageous they might be, has cost me sixty thousand crowns, without reckoning what I lost before, and have lost within these six weeks. I am persuaded, Sir, that I have no need to represent all these things to the King, to induce him to execute the promise he had the goodness to make me; I know how inviolable his word is; but I am persecuted on all sides, and if the King is not so good as to give orders to extricate me from the trouble I am in, I am upon the point of being reduced to the necessity either of losing my credit and my reputation, or of selling my estates to disengage the promises I gave upon the promise of the King. There is not a day but I am exposed to persecutions, the more disagreeable as the people who make them have a right to do it.

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The affair in question is so trifling that I cannot doubt of its being speedily finished, if you will do me the favour to represent to the King what I have wrote. You have shewn me so many kindneses on many occasions, that I hope you will not refuse me your assistance in this. I ask pardon for the trouble I give you, and the manner in which I write; but you know, Sir, the reasons I have to act thus, and the danger I should put myself in if I wrote this with my own hand. I am, &c."

Upon the breaking off the treaty with France in the end of November, 1679, Charles, to gain popularity to himself, made the most public advances to the Dutch and Spaniards; and in the Duke of York's absence in Scotland, made a defensive alliance with Spain. Louis the XIVth had, in the mean time, seen too late his error. Barillon, as appears by his dispatch of 1st February, 1680, got leave from his court to yield the disputed article upon the margin of the treaty, and to offer Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns for three years. Barillon writes to his court, on the 22d February, 1680, that he delays renewing the proposal for the treaty till the Duke shall come from Scotland, whom he expects soon. On the 14th March, 1680, he writes to his court that the Duke of York was arrived, and had complained to him that Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth had taken advantage of his absence to get the French alliance broken off, and the Spanish one formed; and that they had pressed for the last of these measures in order to gain popularity to themselves. After this, Barillon's dispatches give an account of several attempts, made by him and the Duke of York in the spring and summer of the year 1680, to set proposals on foot again for a treaty with France. Charles resisted them all; his

apologies, as Barillon relates them, were reproaches of kindness. Barillon writes to his court, 27 June, 1680, that Charles used the following expressions to him upon one of those occasions: "That the want of an alliance lay at your Majesty's door, and if he dared to say so, it was the second fault of this kind which had been committed in France; that when the triple alliance was made, he had given information of it to Mr. de Rouvigny beforehand: That I knew what he had said and offered to myself." This was a repetition of what he had said to Barillon some months before; for Barillon, on the 12th February, 1679, wrote that Charles said: "That when the triple alliance was made, he gave warning to Mons. Rouvigny a long time before, that he might receive orders from your Majesty, and powers to conclude with him."

In the mean time, upon the breaking off of the treaty with France in November, 1679, Louis had given orders to Barillon to renew his intrigues with the popular party in England, and to let him know the names and characters of the chief of those with whom he had connected himself. Barillon in answer writes the following detail.

Translation.

*Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth.—
Names and characters of individuals of the popular party
who act in a secret correspondence with France.—In the
Depot.*

SIRE,

December 14, 1679.

"CONFORMABLE to the orders your Majesty has given me, I have re-entered into a correspondence with the persons in parliament who I thought might be useful

useful to your service hereafter. I had always kept measures with them to make use of them in time of need. I shall at present give your Majesty the detail, as you order by your last dispatch.

I have at all times taken great care to manage Lord Hollis, and I believe I have kept him in very favourable sentiments for your Majesty's interests. He is the man of all England for whom the different cabals have the most consideration. He is respected in general by all parties, but principally by the presbyterians. Nothing did me so much service with him as the offer I made him on your Majesty's part of a box with your picture set with diamonds. He made great acknowledgments for this mark of your Majesty's esteem; but he has not accepted the present, and I have it still. I have pressed him many times to take it; he has always excused himself, and told me that he should serve your Majesty with less scruple and more usefully if he did not accept it, and that he could not resolve to take it without the permission of the King of Great Britain, being at present of his council. I opposed with very good reasons the proposal he made to me of telling his Britannic Majesty that your Majesty would make him a present, under the very improbable pretence of his not having received one at the expiration of his embassy to France. In the mean time I can assure your Majesty, that in the affair of the high Treasurer and the disbanding of the army, no person was more useful to your Majesty than Lord Hollis.

Although he does not often go to parliament, he is consulted by many people, and his advice has great weight. He is very moderate upon the subject of the Duke of York, and declares he cannot consent to his exclusion; but, at the same time, he is of opinion that the power of a catholic King of England should be limited. He is apprehensive the court will always adhere

to the design of governing more absolutely than the laws of England admit, and he knows that your Majesty alone can facilitate the success of such a design. Upon this account he wishes that the nation may not be stirred up against France; and believes it would be a great imprudence to give any cause of discontent to a Prince so powerful, and who can so easily hurt them. I sometimes see Lord Hollis, but, not to give suspicion by too frequent visits, we have correspondence together by the *Sieur Beber*; he is a man who has great credit with Lord Hollis, and who is greatly considered amongst the presbyterians; he has been very useful to me on many occasions, and it is through him I have been informed in time of what passes in the different cabals. I have had, through the same person, a strict connection with *M. Lyttelton*, who is one of the most considerable in the House of Commons, and whose opinions have always been the most followed. I have also kept a particular correspondence with *Mr. Powle*. He was put into the council when the persons who opposed the court were put there. He has so conducted himself since that time, that he will always be useful when the parliament shall meet: He is a man fit to fill one of the first posts in England; he is very eloquent and very able; our first correspondence came through *Mr. Montagu's* means; but I have since kept it by my own, and very secretly.

Mr. Harbord is another of those whom I have made use of, and who bore an active part in the affair of the Treasurer and the disbanding of the troops; but it would be difficult to employ him at present. He has considerable credit amongst people in the country; he would be more fit if a minister was to be attacked, than he will be to speak in parliament against an alliance which the court would make, and the other party hinder.

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These four have touched what was promised them, when the disbanding the troops should be finished, and the high Treasurer removed from affairs.

I send a memorial apart, by which your Majesty will see what has been given for this, and some other expences laid out by your orders.

Mr. Sidney has been of great use to me on many occasions. He is a man who was in the first wars, and who is naturally an enemy to the court. He has for some time been suspected of being gained by Lord Sunderland; but he always appeared to me to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims. He has a great deal of credit amongst the independants, and is also intimate with those who are the most opposite to the court in parliament. He was elected for this present one*. I gave him only what your Majesty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him, it would be easy to engage him entirely. However, he is very favourably disposed to what your Majesty may desire; and is not willing that England and the States General should make a league. He is upon bad terms with his brother, who is in Holland, and laughs at the court's making use of him as a negotiator. I believe he is a man who would be very useful if the affairs of England should be brought to extremities.

Since the time that an alliance has been spoken of between the States General and England, I have taken a great deal of care to nourish the diffidence which some of the most considerable persons in parliament have of the Prince of Orange; they are apprehensive that his union with the court will render the government more firm, and give it more authority: But to say the truth, as it

* Mr. Sidney's election was found not to be good.

appears to me, I do not believe it would be possible to prevent the parliament from approving a league made with the States General to guarantee the peace. All that could be done afterwards (if it should happen) would be to hinder the parliament from giving considerable sums; I therefore do not think I ought to propose to your Majesty the making any new expence at present, the success of which might be very doubtful. It will be always time enough to give and promise new rewards to those whose services may be wished for, when it is seen if the parliament is to be assembled.

If your Majesty thinks I ought again to press Lord Hollis to accept the box of diamonds, I may by means of Lady Hollis make him accept it; I don't presume she will be so difficult as he has been. I shall also wait your Majesty's orders for offering any thing to the others of whom I have made mention, but shall not make use of the permission you may give unless on occasions which I shall think essential to your service.

I ought to give your Majesty an account of what regards Mr. Montagu separate from the others, being engaged as he is in your Majesty's interests by particular considerations. I have had trouble enough to defend myself for these six months against his solicitations for the payment of the sum which was promised him for the ruin of the high Treasurer. He alleges that the condition is fulfilled on his part. I have always endeavoured to make him understand that it was an affair not entirely finished, and that being fully assured of what had been promised to him, he ought not to make himself uneasy whether the payment be made a little sooner or later. He does not give way to my reasons. The two journeys which the Sieur Falaiseau has made to no purpose, would have made him resolve to go himself to solicit the payment of the sum he pretends a right to, if he could have
left

left England at a time when affairs are in so great commotion, and in which he has acted so great a part. Your Majesty will remember, if you please, that Mr. Montagu spoke to me in the month of January last, to try if you would favour the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions: It was the principal motive of his journey to France when he was seized at Dover. Mr. Montagu knew well afterwards by the reservedness with which I spoke to him upon that affair, that your Majesty was not disposed to support so unjust a design, and which then appeared very chimerical. However, upon other affairs we have always had a good correspondence, and have preserved the greatest union. He has often spoken to me of getting Lord Shaftesbury into your Majesty's interests, and alleges that it would not be impossible if a considerable sum were employed. I don't know if your Majesty will judge it useful to your service to endeavour at it at present; it would be a very proper means to stir up new embarrassments to the King of England, and Lord Shaftesbury would be still more bold, if he found himself secretly supported by your Majesty: But it will be difficult to turn him from his engagements against the Duke of York, and to prevent his bestirring himself for the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth, or for that of the Prince of Orange; for his designs are difficult enough to penetrate: And perhaps his principal end is to endeavour the establishment of a republic, of which he would aim at being chief.

If your Majesty will give me leave to say what I think ought to be done at present with regard to Mr. Montagu, I think you might command me to give him positive assurances of the payment of what was promised him, and that a certain time be named on which this payment shall be actually made: If after this your Majesty will, by his means and those of Mrs. Hervey his sister, gain any
members

members of parliament, I can answer that two persons cannot be found more proper to traverse all the designs of the court. It was by an intrigue of Mrs. Hervey that I caused to be continued at Brussels a certain person named Bullstrode, who, as Mons. de Louvois at that time informed me, was useful to your Majesty's service. It has been my principal application with those whom I have at present mentioned, to take away from them the least suspicion that your Majesty will enter into a treaty with the King of England. I have, however, taken care not to use positive words upon this, especially to my Lord Hollis; I have only told him in general that your Majesty will never enter into any engagement with his Britannic Majesty which might be prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the English.

I will say nothing to your Majesty upon the subject of the Duke of Buckingham, because he is not here at present, and your Majesty knows of yourself of what use he may be to your service. I don't doubt but he is dissatisfied with the refusal I gave him this summer of the twenty thousand crowns, which he wanted the power of disposing of; I would rather let him think that I made this saving of myself, than let him know that I did it by order. As I saw he had a design of going to France, and doubt not he has been there, I imagine, when he appears here, I shall find him disposed to serve your Majesty when occasions shall present. It does not appear to me he has great credit in parliament, but he may be useful with regard to the populace, and in times of troubles. It is not the most regular minds which always strike the most considerable strokes."

As there was no parliament, and no traffic for money between Louis and Charles, in the summer of the
year

year 1680, Barillon's dispatches are not very interesting during that period; yet it appears from them that the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland had quitted the interest of the Duke, and were anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the parliament and the King; that the Duke was extremely averse from this, and thought a civil war the preferable way of extricating the King from the difficulties he was under.

Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 19th August, 1680: "The Duke of York's design is, that things should be brought to extremities, and come to an open rupture. He is persuaded that the royal authority can be established in England only by a civil war. By this he thinks to prevent the danger with which he is threatened."

Charles, however, chose a less dangerous experiment, and to get supplies at home, since he got them no longer from France, assembled his parliament on the 21st of October, 1680.

Before it met he was under an extreme embarrassment whether to send his brother again into Scotland. The following dispatch gives an account of this, as well as of the suspicions which the Duke of York entertained of his brother's advisers.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 28, 1680.—The Duke uncertain if he is to be sent to Scotland.—His suspicion of his brother's advisers.—The Duke begs the support of France.—In the Depot.

“ **T**HE Duke of York sent for me two days ago by Mr. Churchill; he said, that I saw matters in a great agitation; that he did not despair of being able to save himself, and that the King his brother is not yet entirely determined to abandon him to his parliament; that the opinions of the council had been almost equally divided, and the resolution of it as to him was to wait to see what parliament would do; that he did not believe that the King his brother would deliver him to his enemies, and that he should always have time to retire; that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth were embarrassed from their opinion not having been followed, and perhaps they might yet acknowledge that his departure would be unnecessary.

This Prince then told me that he knew now how he had been betrayed. That Mr. Temple, Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Henry Sidney, had concerted with the Prince of Orange the treaty with Spain, and afterwards to bring affairs to the point they are at. That Mr. Vanleuve was come to try to make the Prince of Orange a gainer by his ruin; and that he had been cheated by all those in whom he had the most reason to have confided; that I should not think him so weak as not to have seen for some time past a part of what he sees at present, but it was not in his power to hinder it; and that he was unwilling to give those who had deceived him a pretence

to complain of the diffidence he might have shewn of them; that they would have tried to make him easy again by all sorts of oaths; that he still comforted himself upon the experience of the past, which ought to make his brother know, and those who have his principal confidence, how unserviceable to the Earl of Danby it had been, to make him (the Duke) go out of the kingdom, and what small thanks the parliament had given him for it; that he begged me to let your Majesty know what is passing; and to represent that your protection alone can save the King of Great Britain from utter ruin; that those who are about him will give him up to parliament to save themselves; and that the government will be entirely changed as soon as the parliament shall obtain his (the Duke's) banishment and exclusion. He added, that Mr. Hyde had spoken to the King of Great Britain with much firmness and vigour, to convince him that he could not abandon his brother without being ruined himself: That this had embarrassed him; that others of the council had again spoken to his Britannic Majesty, and he did not despair but they might make him sensible how dangerous are the councils that are given him; that notwithstanding all this he should not be surprised if the King his brother made him depart in two days."

The Duke of York judged right in his suspicions of his brother's steadiness, expressed in the end of this last letter; a few days after he received an order for retiring to Scotland; but this created a new embarrassment to Charles, for the Duke fearing a personal attack from parliament in his absence, insisted, before he went, to have a pardon for his protection.

A note in Lord Anglesea's hand-writing of the debates in council upon that subject is to be found in the Clarendon Papers.

The King having refused a pardon to the Duke, he became desperate. Barillon had written his court on the 24th October, 1680, that the Duke refused to go to Scotland, that the two Secretaries of State and Lord Halifax and Lord Essex had intreated him in vain, and that the King was under great perplexity, because it was against law to compel the Duke to leave the kingdom without his consent.

Among other schemes of revenge, the Duke of York about this time told Barillon, that he would defend himself by a civil war from Scotland and Ireland. An account of this, and of the state of parties in England, is to be found in the following dispatch :

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 31, 1680.—State of the court.—The Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given up the Duke of York.—The Duke's desperate schemes of revenge.

“THE Duke and Dutchess of York embarked yesterday morning in the river for Scotland. The King of Great Britain conducted them to Leigh. I had a long conversation with the Duke of York, in which that Prince shewed great marks of misery; he thinks himself entirely abandoned, and does not reckon upon being long in Scotland. The King his brother however gave them fine words, and told him that necessity alone obliged him to send him away: That it would have been impossible for him to support him against the efforts of the Lower House, and that it was much more proper to dissolve the parliament upon any other account (as that of the bishops) than upon an accusation which might have been

been prosecuted against him; that it would not have been in his power to have prevented his going to the Tower; that he promised him however never to abandon him, and that he knows the consequences.

The Duke of York believes that the Prince of Orange will come here soon, with a design to draw advantage from what may be done against him the Duke.

I will not repeat to your Majesty all the Duke of York said about things past: He entered into a detail of the first treaties which were made between your Majesty and the King his brother; and complained in very vehement terms of the treatment he receives for an affair in which he had only obeyed and conformed himself to the will of the King of Great Britain;

He informed me that some of the Lords who are prisoners in the Tower had been in the secret of all that had been projected, and that he did not understand how the King his brother could chuse to drive all the Catholics to despair, and persecute them without measure. To this he added, in terms full of rage, that if he was pushed to extremity, and saw himself like to be entirely ruined by his enemies, he would find means to make them repent it, and revenge himself of them by giving your Majesty also your revenge for the conduct they had held here with regard to you; the meaning of which is, that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and he even alleges he has a party in England more considerable than is thought of. He finished his discourse with great protestations of being eternally attached to your Majesty, and by a very humble prayer to grant him your protection.

To all this I answered in terms which appeared to me the most suitable to the condition this Prince is reduced to, without entering into any thing particular,

If the Duke of York remains in Scotland, he alleges he may be able to reunite the factions which divide that country, and to put himself in a condition not to be oppressed there: It does not appear that they have any intention here to give him leisure to do it; and I do not doubt but they will oblige him to quit it as soon as the parliament demands it of his Britannic Majesty. All this appears to me to be already concerted; and it is very probable that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth are agreed with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. There is no doubt but the Duke of Monmouth has seen the King of Great Britain, and that there is a secret reconciliation between them. I don't see a person who is not persuaded that the Duke of Monmouth will soon be replaced in all his employments: They talk of giving him the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which the Duke of Ormond has. It is difficult to comprehend how the interest of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of Monmouth can agree. Mr. Montagu says, the Duke of Monmouth at present shews no other design than that of procuring the good and advantage of all the nation by the Duke of York's exclusion; but at the bottom that he will pursue his point, and hazard all rather than submit willingly to the Prince of Orange. He alleges, that when he is once re-established at court, he will advance his affairs, and succeed more easily by the means of parliament, and by keeping himself always united with those who have the greatest credit among the people.

The ministers appear much inclined to the Prince of Orange; but it is believed they reserve to themselves the liberty of abandoning him if they meet with too many difficulties in making his pretensions succeed; and that the King of Great Britain will in general do what he can to please his parliament. I know that this Prince
said

said privately to a confidant, that he was assured the Prince of Orange would assist him with men and money if affairs here were pushed to extremities, and came to the point of being decided by force. I have not failed to make all this known to persons who will make a good use of it.

I observe exactly, however, the conduct your Majesty has prescribed to me. I keep myself very reserved with Mr. Montagu upon the subject of the Duke of Monmouth: I have endeavoured to make him understand that your Majesty's interest is confined to preventing the parliament from granting money to the King of Great Britain wherewith to support his alliances, but that your Majesty could not enter into other affairs entirely separate from what is at present in agitation; that I perceived your Majesty was far from favouring the Prince of Orange's party, and that you even judged it very important for your service to prevent him from establishing himself upon the Duke of York's ruin; that in this it appeared to me the Duke of Monmouth would find a great advantage, because he would have the same enemy with France as long as the Prince of Orange kept the same conduct he had done for some years, and which in all appearance he has no design to change.

I thought, Sire, I ought to speak in this manner to Mr. Montagu to prevent the Duke of Monmouth from losing altogether the hopes of having your Majesty's protection; for this would facilitate his reconciliation with the Prince of Orange.

I send your Majesty a memorial of the expence I have laid out till this time. Affairs are too confused, and the interests too opposite and too difficult for me to be able to take any measures that are certain. I have therefore thought it my duty not to employ considerable sums, till I can see (by what shall be done during the first day of the

the session of parliament) the turn which affairs will take. By all I can learn from different places, I judge that the King of Great Britain has resolved to do whatever the parliament shall incline ; but he may yet change his resolution, for they will assuredly ask things of him which will entirely annihilate the royal authority. There is one I know is agitated in the cabals, which is to demand an annual parliament, and that it shall sit a sufficient time to regulate those affairs which regard the interest of the nation : If this were established, the form of the government would be entirely changed ; for though the parliament should not be sitting, they would still govern by means of a council *, which would do nothing but what they believed would be afterwards approved of by parliament,

Yesterday evening I saw Mr. Montagu ; he did not conceal from me that the Duke of Monmouth was reconciled with Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland, and that various proposals were making for the future, and that there would be great changes at court. If it be so, as I do not doubt it is, the Duke of York will be entirely abandoned and excluded. I was told to-day that he will not continue at Edinburgh, but in a country house of the Duke of Rothes. It is easy to see this is a preparation for his not continuing in Scotland.

I know that at the breaking up of a council in which there were eleven voices for the Duke of York's not leaving the kingdom against seven who were for it, the King of Great Britain said, " he must leave it then, since there are so many people for him."

Mr. Seymour, formerly speaker, said in the same council, that those who so readily gave their opinions for the Duke of York's going away, would as readily

* Perhaps he means committee.

vote another time for the King to quit the kingdom, if the people would have it so. Mr. Godolphin replied to this; "If the Duke of York does not leave it at present, he will be obliged to go in a fortnight, and the King along with him." The truth is, the interior of the court, that is to say, those who have his Britannic Majesty's confidence, appear more keen for the Duke of York's leaving the kingdom than the most violent of the parliament. All this makes it believed that the King of Great Britain has not a mind to support him, but to get some advantage to himself, if possible, by abandoning him."

The intelligence of the Duke of York's project for a civil war, was received by Louis the XIVth, as might have been expected: He instantly gave Barillon orders to encourage the Duke in it.

On the 8th November, 1680, Louis the XIVth writes thus to Barillon:—"If you see him resolved to support himself by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may assure him that in that event I will not refuse him secret supplies."

On the 15th November, Louis the XIVth writes to Barillon thus:—"But to encourage this Prince, and to make him see that if he finds he has friends enough and forces enough to maintain himself in the place where he is, against all the efforts which his enemies may make to drive him from it, I will not refuse in that case secret aids, nor the protection which my inclination leads me to give to the justice of his cause."

And Barillon's letter, of 30th December, 1680, to his court, mentions Louis's having sent a trusty messenger to Scotland with an assurance of his services to the
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the Duke of York. Colonel Churchill, as will be seen in a dispatch below, was the person whose cautious temper prevented these sallies of the Duke from being attended with consequences; for he informed Barillon that the Duke was not able to make a stand for himself in Scotland.

The Duke of York was the more irritated at this time, because his brother had renewed his application to him to conform to the church of England. Barillon writes thus to his court, on the 14th October, 1680:—
 “ I know it from a good quarter that the King of England presses the Duke of York strongly to take the protestant tests, and that he has declared to him it is the only means of bringing about his continuance in England, and preventing his utter ruin.”

This is confirmed by the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Bishop Burnet's History.

One of Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Bishop Burnet's History.

P. 517. “ I have a letter of the Duke's in which are these words: What you hint to me in your letter, and what Lord Hallifax in his has more plainly said, and has been prest by Lord Hyde concerning my going to church, has mortified me very much, since I cannot do it; for indeed I see nothing but ruin, when such measures are taken as produced such a message to me, when there was no reason to believe I would comply.”

While Louis was endeavouring to raise commotions, by means of the Duke of York, in Scotland and Ireland, he was making preparations to sow divisions between the King and his subjects in England. Dreading the session of a new parliament, he gave orders to Barillon, before it met, to tempt the King with a money treaty, on the one hand, and to intrigue with the popular party, on the other.

The same letter of Louis the XIVth, to wit, that of 15th November, 1680, which ordered Barillon to encourage the Duke of York to make a stand in Scotland, ordered him to assure the republican party in parliament, that he would protect the privileges of the nation.

On the 23d November, 1680, Louis writes Barillon, to encourage Charles to follow a firm and bold conduct to his subjects in his present situation.

On the 13th December, 1680, Louis's letter to Barillon expresses his satisfaction at the divisions in England, and orders him to assure the republican party that it is not his intention to suffer their liberties to be hurt.

The two following dispatches show, in a strong light, the distracted state of the kingdom, and that versatility of politics by which Louis the XIVth accommodating his conduct to the variation of circumstances, played at that time the King and parliament against each other, deceiving both separately, while he pretended to be a friend to both separately.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th November, 1680.—Has got orders how to act if the King makes advances to France.—Distractions of England.

“THE day before yesterday I received your Majesty’s dispatch of the 29th October, which was brought me by an express messenger: It instructs me fully in what I have to do, if the King of Great Britain takes the resolution of having recourse to your Majesty, which is the only good step that remains for him: This may happen every day. It does not however appear that this Prince is sensible as yet of the danger he is in in all its extent, and how much he ought to endeavour to get out of it; on the contrary, all that passes makes one judge that his intention is to satisfy his parliament at whatever price it may be, and to try if he can by this means obtain some ease, and re-establish his affairs; but Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth have promised the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Russell, that the King of Great Britain shall grant all that the parliament will ask, provided they put him in a condition of subsisting.

I know that there is a secret condition agreed on, and which makes the foundation of all the present conduct of both parties; to wit, that the parliament shall give the King of Great Britain power to name for his successor whom he pleases, as was practised in the time of Henry the Eighth. The Duke of Monmouth flatters himself with being named; I don’t doubt but Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given him hopes of it. Lady Portsmouth has also pretensions for her son. What

I write to your Majesty will appear without doubt very extraordinary, but England has no resemblance to other countries."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 5th December, 1680.—His intrigues with the popular party and with the King to continue the divisions of England.—In the Depot.

"I SEND your Majesty, in a memorial apart, the names of the members of parliament whom I have engaged in your interests. The foundation of all these engagements is, that the parliament shall not enter into the alliance made with Spain, nor into those which may be proposed with the States General, the Emperor, and other Princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannic Majesty to support them. The greatest part of these connections could not be made by myself; few were to be found who would directly treat with, or have any commerce with me, by which they might have exposed their fortunes and their lives. I made use of Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Hervey, his sister; of Mr. Harbord, Alergnoon Sidney, and the Sieur Beber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the Earl of Danby. The interests of those with whom I am in commerce are very different and very opposite. Mr. Montagu would willingly be well with the court, and have a great place if it were possible; he would be very glad first to go ambassador extraordinary to France for some time. He has declared himself openly against the Duke of York, and is entered into an intimate confidence with the Duke of Monmouth; he is also united with Lord Russel and Lord Shaftesbury. Although

Mr. Montagu has been in your Majesty's interests a long time, and the sum of which he expects the payment is alone sufficient to prevent his taking any contrary step, he wishes that I would enter farther into the Duke of Monmouth's affair, and the reserve which he observes in me upon that head, makes him sometimes suspect that your Majesty supports the Duke of York, and that you will protect him hereafter. I make him easy by telling him that the resolution to support such a pretension as the Duke of Monmouth's is not lightly to be taken; that it ought to suffice that the Prince of Orange is his greatest enemy, as he is also of France; that your Majesty will determine according to what you think most proper, when the crown of England shall be disputed among many pretenders; but in the interim it is not your province to meddle with the domestic affairs of England, except to prevent any steps being taken with regard to foreign ones, which may be contrary to your interests. That as to what regards the Duke of York, his past conduct frees your Majesty from all you might have done for him, if he had persisted in the first engagements which he formed; that at present your Majesty had too much prudence to charge yourself with the protection of a prince against whom all England seemed to be united, That with regard to the King of Great Britain, all he has done for some years past would put it out of your Majesty's thoughts to assist him in augmenting his authority, and governing absolutely, even though your Majesty's true interest was not to maintain the government of England in the form now established. All I said did not persuade Mr. Montagu, but the money I paid him by your Majesty's order makes his mind very easy. I believe it will be necessary to make him a second payment of fifty thousand livres, for the excuse of the bills of exchange not coming fast enough is not sufficient,

ficient, and in the present conjuncture he may be of great use to me in your Majesty's affairs. Mrs. Hervey, his sister, is as deep as he in all the intrigues: She is a woman of a bold and enterprising spirit, and has interest and connections with a great number of people of the court and parliament. It was through her I engaged Mr. Hamden and Mr. Harbord, who are two of the most considerable members of parliament.

The Sieur Algernoon Sidney is a man of great views and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic. He is in the party of the independants and other sectaries; and this party were masters during the last troubles: They are not at present very powerful in parliament, but they are strong in London; and it is through the intrigues of the Sieur Algernoon Sidney that one of the two sheriffs, named Bethel, has been elected. The Duke of Buckingham is of the same party, and believes himself at the head; he is so in effect as to the appearance, but at the bottom it is Doctor Owen who is the patriarch of the sectaries, and Mr. Pen, who is the chief of the Quakers. This last is a man of great parts, son of a vice-admiral of England, and very rich: He is certainly at the head of a very great party, although he does not appear in public assemblies, from which his sect are excluded. The moderating of the penal laws, with regard to them, is at present upon the carpet; it is the most important thing that can be agitated with regard to the domestic affairs of England, and leads to the entire destruction of episcopacy and of the English religion.

The service which I may draw from Mr. Sidney does not appear, for his connections are with obscure and concealed persons; but he is intimate with the Sieur Jones, who is a man of the greatest knowledge in the laws of England, and will be chancellor if the party opposed

posed to the court shall gain the superiority, and the Earl of Shaftesbury be contented with any other employment.

Mr. Harbord is the same whom I engaged in the affair of the high Treasurer ; he is a friend of Mr. Montagu's, but has not the same connections with the Duke of Monmouth ; on the contrary, he appears to be in the Prince of Orange's interest : Through him I have engaged many persons of great credit in parliament, and in London. He is an active vigilant man, from whom I have very good informations, and who has a great desire to make his fortune by means of France. Mr. Montagu knows only a part of the connections which we have.

The Chevalier Beber is he through whom I have a connection with the presbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles ; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I see plainly that the pains he has taken have not been useless, for the presbyterians are entirely against the Prince of Orange, and I believe it will be very difficult to set to rights what has been done against him.

There are other people from whom I got some services. The Baron de Wites is one of them. I knew him at Cologne, and he has given me pretty good advice since I came here ; the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York put confidence in him ; he appears discontented with the Spaniards, by whom he alleges he has been very ill treated. I would not trust to that, but make use of him without confiding any thing important to him.

The Sieur Ducros, resident from the Duke of Holstein, gives me also very good intelligence ; he is a great friend of Lord Cavendish, and has much influence upon his mind. He is author of the writing which I send your Majesty. I have had it translated into English to distribute

distribute copies of it. Libels of this kind are of great use in this country. It is the same Ducros, who, this summer, composed the Remarks upon the Spanish alliance, with which the ministers were very angry, and wished much to discover the author.

I have gained one of Lord Sunderland's clerks, named le Pin, who sometimes gives me good information. I keep always a connection with the Duke of Buckingham; he has been very ill, but is at present better. If affairs grow worse, as it may very well happen, he will have a great deal of credit in London; he will make a greater figure than is imagined; he has been once at the upper house; he is an enemy to the Duke of Monmouth, and is thereby in some measure for the Duke of York.

My principal care and my first application has been to engage persons of credit in parliament to hinder the alliances being approved, and the granting of money to support them. This is the present interest of your Majesty; but with regard to the future, I see what your Majesty has most at heart is to prevent England from being re-united by an accommodation between his Britannic Majesty and his parliament.

Your Majesty has grounds for thinking that the Duke of Monmouth's elevation might contribute much to that union. Upon this account I have sought for all means of traversing and throwing back his pretensions, without exposing myself to be suspected of favouring the Duke of York. He was informed two days ago by Mr. Herbert that a courier was come express from the Prince of Orange to offer his help to his Britannic Majesty, and every thing in his power in case affairs should be embroiled here. This is the foundation of the report that the States General offer to enter into all his Britannic Majesty's interests; This offer is sufficiently spread in
parliament,

parliament, and produces a bad effect for them. I thought it my duty to take this opportunity again to embolden his Britannic Majesty in case he is capable of taking a good resolution; and to remove the doubt he has that your Majesty will be backward to assist him, if he was too strictly united with the Prince of Orange. For this purpose, I charged my Lord St. Alban's to tell him that the sincere desire your Majesty had for the preservation of his Britannic Majesty would not be impeded by the consideration of the Prince of Orange's interests; and that your Majesty will consent that the measures to be taken between you and his Britannic Majesty shall not be contrary to the intentions of the Prince of Orange: In a word, that the union of the royal house of England shall not be opposed by your Majesty; and that if there are any expedients which can enable his Britannic Majesty to subsist himself without entirely submitting to his subjects; that your Majesty will facilitate them on your part as much as may be in your power. I particularly charged Lord St. Alban's to point out to the King of Great Britain the regard your Majesty had for his interests in preference to all the reasons which you might have to oppose the Prince of Orange's greatness: Lord St. Alban's told me, that the King of Great Britain had received this overture with a great deal of joy, and that he had ordered him to thank me; but this Prince has not yet opened himself upon the conclusion of a treaty, from whence it appears that he is not yet determined to dissolve his parliament.

I thought, Sire, that this advance which I have made to his Britannic Majesty could not but produce a good effect. Your Majesty gave me orders to favour the Prince of Orange's pretensions rather than those of the Duke of Monmouth; I could not do it in parliament without discrediting myself entirely, and losing the fruits

of all the connections I have made there; but your Majesty's intentions will have their effect, if the Prince of Orange sinks the balance in his Britannic Majesty's mind against the Duke of Monmouth.

After your Majesty's commands upon this head, I shall not permit myself any more to reflect how the Duke of Monmouth's elevation would be the occasion of troubles, for a long time, in England, between two families pretending to the crown. I shall confine myself to what your Majesty prescribes me, and will lose no occasion to thwart the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions whenever I can do it with success. I acknowledge your Majesty ought to prevent his serving for an instrument of a re-union, and establishing in his person so weak a monarchy, as at the bottom to be only a republic. I shall direct my conduct on this ground; however I believe it is prudent not to let any thing appear of such an intention, and always to let this cabal flatter itself, that your Majesty is more disposed to favour the Duke of Monmouth than the Prince of Orange."

Some of the foregoing French dispatches shew a belief in the French court at this time of the probability of the Duke of Monmouth's success in his pretensions, and their fear lest this success might prove the instrument of restoring harmony between the King and the popular party in parliament. To prevent this, Barillon received the strange instructions mentioned in his last letter for bringing about a junction of the French and the Prince of Orange's interests in defence of the royal family of England. But the Prince of Orange was too wise to expect favours from Louis the XIVth; he trusted to the good sense of the English, that if they excluded the Duke of York from the succession on the principle of his being a papist, they must admit his daughters to it on

that of their being protestants; he knew his own personal interest in England, and even in the King's court, to be great; for Barillon writes on the 4th Nov. 1680, that Godolphin, and also Sunderland, notwithstanding his pretended friendship with the Dutchess of Portsmouth, were entirely in his interests. He probably knew too the private sentiments of Charles with regard to the irregular ambition of his son; for Barillon relates in his dispatch of 21 Nov. 1680, that Monmouth having said in his speech in the House of Lords upon the exclusion, that he would vote for it because he thought the King's safety involved in it; Charles, who was present, said aloud: "It is a Judas kiss which he gives me." Presuming on all these circumstances, the Prince of Orange got the famous Dutch and Spanish memorials sent over, which pressed the King to consent to the exclusion of his brother.

In the mean time, Charles was listening, though without precipitation, to the advances made by Barillon through means of Lord St. Alban's for a new money treaty between the two Kings. The intentions of the French with regard to the terms of the treaty were originally, that Charles should withdraw himself from the late Spanish alliance, and recal his Ambassadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke should return; that the Roman Catholics should be favourably treated, and the penal laws against them suspended; that Charles should never more call a parliament; and that in consideration of these things he should have a pension for three years. But the impatience of the Duke of York in his exile could not brook a delay; for as soon as he heard a treaty was thought of, he dispatched Churchill to London to press it forward.

His

His impatience in Scotland, his sending off Churchill, and the instructions which Barillon got relative to the terms of the intended treaty, appear in the two following dispatches.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, written from Edinburgh, 1680, without date.—This letter is before that of the 23d December from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Complains of the usage he has met with.—Anxious to return to England.—In the Depot.

“ I RECEIVED your letter with a great deal of satisfaction, because you give me fresh assurances of the King your master’s goodness to me ; I will endeavour to deserve the continuance of it, whereof I beg you to assure him.

With regard to this country, the nobility and persons of quality are by interest attached to royalty, and they are the masters here ; As to England, you are upon the spot, and know what passes there as well as myself ; if I was to return to the King my brother, I might hope to pave the way for as good a correspondence as ever between him and the King your master ; but as long as I shall be absent, it will be difficult to do ; for you see by the tricks they have played me, that I cannot confide either in Lady Portsmouth or Lord Sunderland ; and as for those who have or may have the King my brother’s confidence, unless I am there, they will never lend a hand to what we wish.”

Translation,

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 3d February, 1681.—Churchill is come from Scotland to promote a treaty with France.—Barillon conceals from him that it is begun.—Barillon's instructions with regard to the treaty.

“THE **T**HIE **S**ieur Churchill has been all this while in Scotland with the Duke of York: He arrived here the day before yesterday, and brought me a billet from the Duke; a copy of which I send your Majesty. What he says shews a great desire on the Duke of York's part to be able to return to the King his brother; but it does not appear to me that affairs are yet disposed for it here; therefore I did not think it time to execute the order your Majesty gave me, to ask the Duke of York's return; I have only told Mr. Churchill that your Majesty wished it, and that you had ordered me to employ myself in it when I should believe it possible to be brought about.

Mr. Churchill said, that the Duke of York believed he should find a negociation begun here for the re-establishment of a strict alliance between your Majesty and the King of England; and that the principal cause of his journey was to press his Britannic Majesty to conclude a treaty with your Majesty; that I saw he pressed me by his billet not to lose any time in acting and making proposals which might lead to a conclusion, because the Duke of York was informed that the greatest efforts were making to hinder the King of England from taking any measures with your Majesty; and on the contrary, for making him take measures very opposite to your interests: That it was designed that the Prince
of

of Orange should come over, with a view that he might become the master of affairs, and be established now in a manner which could not be changed hereafter.

I did not open myself to Mr. Churchill upon the power I have to conclude a treaty, nor upon what had passed by means of Lord St. Alban's; I only told him that your Majesty was in very favourable dispositions for re-establishing a good intelligence with his Britannic Majesty, and that your Majesty's principal consideration was the preservation of the Duke of York, and your desire to support him in the succession to the throne. That I should not lose any opportunity of letting the King of England know how much your Majesty believes the preserving the Duke of York is important to the preservation of the royal authority in England; that I shall soon have orders from your Majesty upon all that passes here, and I should then bend all my cares to cause a negociation to succeed on which I well saw the safety of the Duke of York depended. Mr. Churchill frankly owned that this Prince was not in a condition to maintain himself in Scotland, if the King his brother did not support him there. They have burnt the house of the provost of Edinburgh; he is the first magistrate of the city, and has the same functions with the mayor of London. It is believed that the students who burnt the pope in effigy, set fire, during the night, to the provost's house, which is but a mile from Edinburgh.

After having read over again with attention your Majesty's last dispatch, it appears to me that the conditions upon which you explain yourself, will not stop the conclusion of a treaty, and on the contrary may much forward it. Your Majesty only asks, with regard to the treaty with Spain, an assurance to withdraw from it by degrees; this cannot be refused when the King of England shall incline to renew his connection with your Majesty.

Majesty. Neither is the recalling of the ministers from all the courts of Germany and the north a circumstance which can break off the treaty ; and it will be easy for his Britannic Majesty to recall them under pretence of œconomy ; besides, in the condition in which the affairs of England are, few Princes will press to make alliances with his Britannic Majesty.

The condition of the Duke of York's return is also a thing that should be managed with time, and I do not imagine that your Majesty will prescribe it as an essential condition which must be executed without delay, any more than the favourable treatment of the Catholics, and the suspension of the penal laws on their account ; these are rather necessary consequences of a good intelligence with your Majesty, than conditions to be insisted on, and which might break the conclusion of an alliance. There remains only one difficulty, which is that of putting off for ever the sitting of parliament. I know very well it is a security your Majesty has reason to demand ; but you promised me, in the year 1679, to consent that the parliament should assemble when the King of England believed it necessary for his own interests, provided that then the subsidies should cease : Perhaps the King of England may be inclined to keep the parliament assembled some days at Oxford, and may still try for means to satisfy it, by offering the limitations which he has already offered in case the Duke of York shall come to the crown.

The Earl of St. Alban's told me, that if the King of England had made a treaty with your Majesty, or if he was assured of concluding one, he would observe a very different conduct with regard to parliament, and would be much more in a condition to maintain his authority, and not let himself be tempted by the proposals which might be made him ; it is necessary I should be fully instructed in your Majesty's intentions upon this.

I keep

I keep up the connections I have with many members of parliament; I have seen the principal, who all appear much animated against the court, and very angry that the parliament is summoned to meet out of London: They are not without apprehension that the King of England may have troops around Oxford, and thereby render their meeting less free: They talk of coming there sufficiently well accompanied not to apprehend an insult. This is a proposal which has been made amongst them; if it is executed, it will be in some measure taking up arms on both sides; what appears to me the best symptom for the King of England at present, is, that the city of London is quiet enough, and the richest merchants are afraid of troubles."

Charles kept this treaty in suspense from December until the 26th of March, probably provoked by the exorbitancy of some of the terms demanded of him, and in hopes that the two parliaments which sat in that interval might have furnished him with supplies to relieve his necessities. But the impatience of the Duke of York increased in proportion to his distance from the scene of action, and the importance of his own interest, as appears from the two following letters.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 1st of March.—Presses him extremely to get a treaty concluded.—In the Depot.

"THE gentleman you informed me was on the road to come here is not yet arrived; but nevertheless I believe it is in your power to put matters to rights at present

present in the place where you are, if you will only speak to the King my brother, and make the proposal to him; it is time now or never to conclude this bargain, for otherwise the King of England will be obliged to put himself into the hands of parliament and of the Prince of Orange; it will then be too late, and the Duke of York infallibly ruined. I know that some persons who have been in the King of England's confidence have taken great pains to persuade him that he could not reckon upon the friendship of the King your master, and that if he was pressed, he would find that he would not be sincerely nor truly his friend: I know well that this was said formerly to the King of England, and that the same thing may again be said to him; it is therefore your part to assure him of the contrary; so that there is no time to lose in this affair, for if it is not begun at present, and while Churchill is in London, I fear some difficulty may yet occur; but I hope you will have made some progress in it before his return. You may be sure the Duke of York will do his duty to press the King of England, for if it is not concluded now, and without loss of time, the Duke of York is lost: Consider this, and remember that heretofore when difficulties were made, I always foretold what would happen, and you have seen that I was not mistaken; but at present I assure you and affirm, that if time is lost, all is lost; for this reason I conjure you to do all in your power to end this affair. Let the King your master know, that if he has any goodness or consideration for the Duke of York, it is time to shew it. His Majesty knows to what a degree he is sensible of the favours done him, and I can answer that he will use all his efforts to deserve it. I could make use of some other reasons to engage you to do what presses at present; but that is not necessary, since you know all mine, and are touched with them. It
will

will be an action altogether glorious for the King to re-establish the King of England (for thus it must be spoken of), and to save the poor Catholics, who otherwise will be ruined without resource."

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 16th March, with Mr. Barillon's dispatch of the 10th.—In the Depot.

"I AM very glad of the assurances you give me of the continuation of the King your master's goodness towards me; this has obliged me (my affairs pressing much) to write to him, and dispatch an express with the letter, for if he will not now shew his friendship, and hearken to the proposals I have made him, my affairs will be between this and a little time in a very bad condition, and the monarchy entirely ruined. What I have proposed to him is, that he will set on foot again a treaty with the King of England much upon the same plan as that which was once so near being concluded; I moreover wish that you will recommend this affair as much as you can, for without that I cannot hope to be recalled by the King of England; and if that cannot be obtained, I must infallibly be ruined. But this I hope the King your master will not willingly see, and you know the consequences, which would be to establish a republic in England. I dare not dwell upon this matter so much as would be necessary: you understand me enough to know what I mean."

In the mean time Charles had been trying to soften his two parliaments, first by an offer of limitations upon the powers of a popish successor, and next by a scheme for settling the government, during the Duke's life, upon

the Princess of Orange, as regent. The House of Commons rejected both, and not only refused money for the support of government, but prohibited private persons to lend it to the King. Charles, upon this, hastily struck up a treaty with France on the 24th March, 1681 (Barillon's letter of that date, in the Depot), and a few days after dissolved his parliament, with a resolution never to call another.

This is the private treaty, of date 1st April, 1681, which Mr. Hume first produced to the world, from the same source at Versailles from which I have drawn so many others. Barillon's account of the treaty contains, as Mr. Hume justly states it, three things; that Charles should disengage himself by degrees from the Spanish alliance; should take measures to prevent parliaments from counteracting his engagement; and should receive a pension of two millions for one year, and 500,000 crowns for two others from France. Barillon had struggled hard that the treaty should be put into writing, and signed by the two Princes, for which he gave this reason to his court in his letter of 3d March, 1681:—
 “It also appears to me that this Prince would not dare to make a treaty public in which he has engaged himself not to assemble a parliament; this would be a very dangerous thing for his person, and entirely contrary to the laws of England.” But Charles refused, and it was only verbally agreed upon. No one, except Lord Hyde, was privy to the conditions; for these were concealed even from Lord St. Alban's, though he knew of the treaty. Barillon writes, on the 14th April, 1681, that the King desired it should be kept secret from the Dutchess of Portsmouth, assigning this courtly reason for doing so, that if the treaty should ever transpire, and she be blamed for it, she might have it in her power to assert with a safe conscience her innocence.

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The French account of the treaty, copied by Mr. Hume, contains some general expressions of Barillon, which implied that France was not to attack the Low Countries or Straßburg; but as the treaty was only verbal, this part of it, and even that which related to the *quantum* of the pension, came, as all verbal pactions do, at an after-period, to be the subject of dispute.

Notwithstanding the various declarations which Charles made to parliament of his readiness to consent to the scheme of limitations, he (who of all men was certainly the most insincere) gave assurances underhand to the Prince of Orange, that it was not his intention to consent to it; it is probable, therefore, that he proposed it only with a view to divide the exclusionists. The Prince of Orange seems to have been sensible of this, and therefore, even after he was informed of the King's intentions to disappoint the scheme, he still insisted that it should not be permitted to be moved in at all. In one of his applications on this head, he expressed himself, that he would consent to any other expedient to reconcile the King and parliament; words, from a person so cautious as he was, which perhaps explained sufficiently that the expedient he pointed at was the exclusion.

On these heads there are in the Paper-office the following letters from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, during the last great heats about the exclusion.

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon Lord Shaftesbury's presenting the Duke of York as a popish recusant.

Honflaerdike, 26 July, 1680.

“ **A**LTHOUGH Lord Shaftesbury's folly does not appear to me to be of great consequence, that does not prevent its having made a great noise in this country, as well as every where else, and has given people bad impressions, as if there were still more troubles to be dreaded in England. I hope that time will open their eyes, although at present the bad intentions of Lord Shaftesbury have had their effect in giving this bad impression, which is certainly hurtful to the King, and to the tranquillity of Europe. We are quiet here, although the King of France's journey gives us a little uneasiness. Time will show us what we have to fear; in the mean time I am always entirely yours.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon the approaching meeting of the third parliament of King Charles.

Honflaerdike, 13 Sept. 1680.

“ **A**LTHOUGH we are glad here that the parliament will be so soon assembled, we are in an extreme apprehension for its success; if it is not such as we hope for, I do not see any resource for the affairs of Europe, which will be in a lamentable state. God grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which all is lost. This will be the last I shall write you from this place, having an intention to set off on Monday next to see

see the Duke of Zell, who has often asked me. I believe I shall be five or six weeks in my journey, and perhaps I shall see the Elector of Brandenburg. If I can assist the Chevaliers Southwell and Sylvius, you may be assured I will not fail; but I am afraid that no German Prince will incline to declare himself before our treaty is finished with the Emperor. In fine, I will neglect nothing that depends upon me to serve the common cause, and above all the King. At my return I will let you know what has passed in my journey; in the mean time I beg you will believe me to be always yours."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, upon the heats in the beginning of the third parliament.

Hague, 12th November, 1680.

"**I** RETURNED here last night, and this morning I have received two of your letters at once of the 26th and 29th old stile. I thank you for letting me know what is passing in parliament, and beg you will still continue to do so. I am extremely sorry to learn that the session begins with so much heat and passion. May God make people wise and moderate; for surely on this meeting of parliament depends the good or ill fortune of all Europe. I have so many things to do to-day, which is the first day of my arrival, and the post being just going, I cannot say any thing more now, than that I am always entirely yours."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—On the heats of the exclusion.

Hague, 22d Nov. 1680.

“ I AM much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what passes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him, and grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe. All affairs here are, as every where else, in suspense to see the issue of this great session. May the Divine goodness end it for his own glory, the good and satisfaction of the King, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe. I am and always will be without reserve entirely yours.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Against King Charles's offer of limitations upon a popish successor.

Hague, December 10, 1680.

“ YOU know how I have always wished a good intelligence between the King and his parliament; and that I wished to have been able to contribute to it. You will therefore easily judge in what trouble and chagrin I am, to see that so great a blessing is not as yet according to my wishes. I must also own to you that I was much surprized to learn of mitigations of the royal authority being spoken of in case the crown should fall to a papist. I hope that his Majesty will not incline to suffer a thing to be done so prejudicial to all the royal family :

family: And although they spread about that this will not take place except with regard to a King of that religion, and would be of no consequence to Kings of the Protestant religion, it must not be imagined, that if they had once taken away from the crown such considerable prerogatives as are talked of, that they would ever return again. Therefore I intreat you to represent this in my name to the King; and to beg of his Majesty on my part, that he will not consent to a thing so prejudicial to all those who have the honour to be of his family. This, as a matter of conscience, I am obliged to say.

I intreat you to let me know what answer you get."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—The King has promised not to consent to the scheme of limitations.—The Prince hints he will agree to any other expedient.

Hague, December 27, 1680.

"THE contrary wind for some days past prevented me from receiving till yesterday your's of the $\frac{17}{7}$. The assurance which you give me on the King's part, that the King will not consent to the limitations of the royal authority, comforts me much. But I am only afraid that by indirect means they may come at a thing so ruinous to monarchy.

With regard to all sorts of expedients, except those, I should have a very sensible joy if they could be found out, to reunite the King and his parliament. You know the interest which all Europe has in this matter, and particularly me. God grant that these expedients be soon found, and that this session may be happily ended in a good union, without which we are all lost. If limita-

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tions continue to be spoke of, I entreat you upon all necessary occasions, to represent on my part to the King, the assurances he gave me of his not consenting to a thing so prejudicial to all the royal family, and which would draw after it the ruin of the monarchy.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Presses the parliament shall not be dissolved.

Hague, 28 January, 1681.

“ EVERY body here was surprized with the prorogation of the parliament, though they can very well understand that the King was forced to it in some manner by their vehement proceedings. But I cannot sufficiently express to you the great fear we are in of a longer prorogation or a dissolution. What will be the effects of it in the kingdom you can judge better than me, although here we have reason to fear they will be very fatal to the affairs of Christendom. I hold these affairs to be entirely ruined, and abandoned to those who have any intention to make themselves master of them: And if people persuade themselves that when a new parliament is called it will not have the same sentiments, that is a thing which cannot enter into my mind; the experience of the past has shewn clearly enough, that instead of being more moderate they have always pushed things a greater length. I think myself obliged in conscience to write you my sentiments so frankly, hoping his Majesty will not take it ill that I represent to him a matter on which, in my opinion, depends the preservation of all Christendom, of his person, and of his kingdoms. The interest which the state, and above all I have in it, is not little, so that it is not strange that I am in an extraordinary uneasiness

easiness how the day after to-morrow will pass, which is the time when the parliament is to meet; seeing that is a day that may save or ruin us entirely. May God have pity on so many poor people, and bless the resolutions of the King with more prosperity than they have hitherto had.

I entreat you to represent all this to the King, and to give me an answer."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—His vexation at the dissolution of parliament.—Curious to hear a new proposal which the King is to make him.

Hague, 11th February, 1681.

"IF I had not been upon a journey to Amsterdam, I would have sooner answered the letters which you wrote me by the King's orders. I will not tell you in what manner, nor with what surprise the news of the dissolution of the parliament was received here, since you will be fully informed of it before this time, and that you could judge of it by my former letters. People are much in doubt here if the parliament will meet at Oxford at the time fixed; and if it does meet, they are persuaded that it will have the same sentiments, since the members will be mostly the same men. With regard to the proposal which you intimate to me, and which cannot displease me, I confess that I cannot comprehend what it can be; and if you can make me know it, you will oblige him who will be always yours."

The proposal mentioned in this last letter was, to make the Princess of Orange regent during her father's life.

Barillon writes his court, on the 14th April, 1681, that this was a project of Lord Halifax and Lord Arlington.

Insincerity and steadiness seldom go together. Charles, in the course of these struggles with parliament, stained his memory for ever by giving up to the vengeance of party the old and innocent Lord Stafford. It is a very false idea in political science, to permit a distinction between the Prince and the man in matters of feeling. The Duke of York, with all his faults, thought more justly than his brother on this subject.

In Lord Dartmouth's notes on bishop Burnet's History, there is the following passage:

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's History.

P. 492. The Duke, in one of his letters, says, "I was informed by Fielding of Lord Stafford's being condemned, which surprized me, though I knew the malice of some against him, and the government would make them press it to the utmost: And besides all other considerations am very sorry that his Majesty will be so hard put to it; for I hope he will remember the continual trouble it was to the King his father, the having consented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and not have such a burthen on his conscience; and on the other hand, I know he will be hard prest to sign the warrant against this unfortunate Lord."

I was particularly anxious, in perusing the French dispatches, to discover the principles upon which Algernon Sidney could possibly reconcile to his own pride, his intrigues with France. From the following passage in one of Barillon's dispatches, it appears that Mr. Sidney's public objects in these intrigues were a republic, and the most unlimited toleration in religion.

TO CHAP. IV. OF THE REVIEW.

Translation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, Sept. 30, 1680.—The principles on which Algernon Sidney acted.—A republic and unlimited toleration.—In the Depot.

“THERE are some who have applied themselves for some time to make me understand that it is an old error to believe that it is against the interest of France to suffer England to become a republic; they endeavour to prove by good reasons and the example of the past, that the reunion of England, under a protestant King, authorised as the Prince of Orange would be, is much less conformable to the true interest of France than a republic, which would be more occupied with trade than any other thing, and would believe, as Cromwell did, that it should gain rather at the expence of Spain than of France: They add, that the interest of England as a republic, and that of Holland governed as it is, could not easily agree; whereas the Prince of Orange can reunite in his person the power of the States General and of England together. In fine, they establish for a fundamental principle that the house of Stuart and that of Orange are inseparably united; that their common interest engages them to augment their power in England and in Holland, and that it is the interest of France to maintain the liberties and privileges of both nations, and to endeavour rather at the ruin of those who would oppress them: They even believe that the safety of the Catholic religion might be established in England, if people were not afraid that a Catholic Prince would be in a condition to change the government and laws; and they observe by the example of Holland, how much the condition of the Catholics in Holland is better than in
3 B 2 England.

England. Your Majesty knows better than any body what solidity there is in these reflections, and can give me your orders for my conduct in the occasions which may present. I shall confine myself to what appears to me to be for your service at present, without carrying my views further; but it does not appear useless to shew your Majesty how far affairs may be carried in England. Mr. Sidney is one of those who talks to me with the most force and the most openness on this matter."

Although in the ambassadors dispatches several accounts of money laid out by them in political services in England between the years 1677 and 1681 are mentioned, yet I found in the *Depot* only three of them.

The first is Monsieur Courtin's account, mentioned in a former Appendix, and is dated 15th May, 1677. The second is referred to in Barillon's letter of 14th December, 1679, contained in a former Appendix; and is of that date. The last is referred in his letter of December 5th, 1680, contained in a former Appendix; and is of that date.

It has been seen above that the French money laid out in political purposes when Courtin was ambassador, was distributed by Charles. For this reason Courtin's account of what was laid out by himself is very low, consisting only of the following articles:

	Guineas,
Lord Barker	1000
Chevalier Herbert	600
Chevalier Min	600
Doctor Carey	500
Coleman	300
Green	200
Denzie	20

The

The person here called Lord Barker was Lord Berkshire, because in other parts of the dispatches he is said to have been of the Howard family, and a “grand haranguer” in parliament.

The next account runs as follows :

Translation.

State of the money employed by Mr. Barillon, ambassador from Louis the XIVth in England, since the 22d December, 1678.

“BY the memorial which I sent to court the 22d December, 1678, I had remaining in bills of exchange and ready money the sum of 21,915*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 292211*l.*

Since the said 22d December to this day the 14th December, 1679, I have given, to wit, to the Duke of Buckingham 1000 guineas, which makes 1087*l.* ten shillings sterling.

To Mr. Sidney 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

For the support of the Sieur Bulstrode in his employment at Brussels 400 guineas, which makes 435*l.* sterling.

To the Sieur Beber 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Lyttelton 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Powle 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Harbord 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

Total of the expence made to this day, 14th December, 1679, 4241*l.* 5*s.* sterling, which makes in French money 56550*l.*

The

A P P E N D I X

The 22d December, 1678, I had remaining 21915*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 292211*l.*

Since the said 22d December I have given 4241*l.* 5*s.* which makes in French money 56550*l.*

Thus I have remaining this 14th December, 1679, only the sum of 17664*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 245661*l.* of which sum I have in ready money 2674*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 35661*l.* The remainder, which is 15,000*l.* sterling, or 200,000 livres French money, is in bills of exchange which have not been negotiated."

The last account consists of the following articles :

	Guineas.
William Harbord. Barillon describes him thus: " Who contributed greatly to the ruin of Lord Danby," ———	500
Mr. Hampden, ——— ——— ———	500
Colonel Titus, ——— ——— ———	500
Hermstrand: This must have been Sir Thomas Armstrong, because when Barillon gives afterwards an account of Armstrong's execution for the Rye-house plot, he calls him Chevalier Thomas Hermstrand, —	500
Bennet. Barillon describes him to have been formerly secretary to Prince Rupert, and now to Lord Shaftesbury, ———	300
Hodam. This must have been Hotham, for Barillon describes him, " Son of the Chevalier Hotham who was governor of Hull," ——— ——— ———	300
Hicdal, ——— ——— ———	300
Garoway, ——— ——— ———	300
Francland, ——— ——— ———	300
	Compton,

	Guineas.
Compton, — — — — —	300
Harlie. This must have been Sir Edward Harley, because Barillon describes him, “ Formerly governor of Dunkirk,”	300
Sacheverel, — — — — —	300
Foley, — — — — —	300
Bide. He describes him thus: “ Very rich and in great credit,” — — —	300
Algernon Sidney, — — — — —	500
Herbert, — — — — —	500
Baber. This must have been the famous Sir John Baber. Barillon describes him thus: “ Who is not in this parliament, but who has many connections in the Lower House, and who formed my connection with Lord Hollis,” — — — — —	500
Hil. Barillon says he was formerly one of Cromwell’s officers, — — —	500
Boscawen, — — — — —	500
Du Crofs. This was the de Crofs, envoy from the Duke of Holstein, mentioned by Sir William Temple, — — —	150
Le Pin. Barillon calls him one of Lord Sunderland’s clerks, — — —	150

The names of almost all the above persons are to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, as active persons at that time.

Barillon could not possibly chuse a fitter person to intrigue with the dissenting interest than Sir John Baber; for Charles had formerly employed him in the very same way. Mr. North in his Examen, p. 361, gives an account of this as follows:

“ Sir John Baber was a man of finesse, and in possession of the protectorship at court of the dissenting teachers,

teachers, and after the pattern of the cardinals, for nations at Rome."

"The King finding the Dissenters, instigated by their teachers, ever active in all ways of opposition to him and his interests, thought it the cheapest way to take off (as they called it) those bull-weather teachers, and accordingly employed people to treat with them; and terms were adjusted that they should keep their party generally quiet, and that they might not oppose his Majesty's affairs in parliament; and for that consideration, conventicles should be connived at, and good annual pensions paid to them; so the stipulation was made, and the pensions settled and duly paid. The plenipotes, in this state negotiation, were Sir John Baber, one well known for a busy body in such tricking affairs; and some said Sir R. Buller, who was a famous tool of the papists afterwards: But the former made no scruple to declare all this to his acquaintance, of whom I had the honour to be one: And he was a witness how honestly the King dealt on his part; paying the pensions as they became due."

With regard to Dr. Owen, whom Barillon, in one of the above letters, calls the patriarch of the independents, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 555 to 564. He died at Ealing, 1683, and sixty-seven coaches attended his funeral.

In Barillon's letters there are several relations of money fought by Buckingham and Montagu, and sometimes given, but oftener refused to them. So far as I could discover in the papers at Versailles, Montagu did not receive more than 50,000 of the 100,000 crowns promised him for ruining Lord Danby.

While the private treaty, which was afterwards frustrated, was going on in the year 1679, Barillon, in his letter of 21 September, 1679, proposed that presents should

should be given to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland; and in his letter of the 26th October, he proposes to give them a pension.

On the 30th November, 1679, Barillon writes that the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland hinted that they expected gratifications from France.

On the 1st and 15th January, 1680, Louis the XIVth, in his letters to Barillon, ordered him to offer 10,000 pistoles to Sunderland, and 5000 to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, with a promise of a renewal of these presents, if they would keep Charles in the interests of France.

Barillon writes on the 1st and 21st January, 1680, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth had said to him that Sunderland could not be secured to France without a great deal of money.

Barillon writes, on the 19th February, 1680: "Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth have received with a very good grace the offers of gratification which I made them hope for." Probably these offers did not take effect, because the treaty which they were intended to bring about broke off.

On the 21st April, Barillon writes that Lord St. Albans had expressed his expectation of receiving a present for the services he had done, in giving a beginning to the private treaty of the year 1681, and Barillon proposes to give him 1000 or 1500*l*. And from Barillon's letter, of 2d May, 1681, it appears that he had received orders from Louis the XIVth to give him the diamond box, in value 1500*l*. which had been formerly refused by Lord Hollis, who died before it could be again offered to him.

Several of the letters mention gratuities of a few hundred pounds, given at different times, to Montagu's sister, Madame Harvey, and to a few others of Montagu's friends.

This profligacy extended itself. Barillon writes, on the 4th April, 1680, that Charles was on a project of making a protestant league with the Dutch and Swiss against France; that Mr. Herbert (whose wife he says was cousin german to Lady Sunderland) was to go ambassador to conduct it in Swisserland; but that Herbert had offered for 5000*l.* to serve the interests of France in his embassy.

Lord Keeper North, who was of opinion that the fiction of the Popish plot did not arise from the accident of Tongue's and Oates's informations, but from a pre-concerted design, gives the following reasons in his manuscript for that opinion :

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandum.

“ 1st. The parliament was to meet the beginning of October, and the discovery was in the middle of August, time enough to blazon it abroad to irritate the minds of men, but not to do any thing for the trial.

2d. Dr. Tong (the first mover) would not have it exposed so much as to the council before the parliament met, but said it was fitter for the parliament: And when it was objected that Papists might kill the King in the mean time, he said, care should be taken, for that they should be watched so narrowly they should not be able to do it.

3. There was but one witness before the parliament met, which is not sufficient in treasons, so the council could not order a trial, though they might commit, except in case of Coleman, whose letters were produced under his own hand.

4th. No Lord or person of quality, but only inferior people and priests, were named before the parliament met,
that

that the court might not be startled, but might engage in the prosecution of those despicable people, for whom no man would have regret, but they might be bountifully thanked for it by the House of Commons.

5th. To make the ministers of state less suspicious and more easy, they were courted, not only in the applications of the discoverers, but in the discovery, *viz.* that the Papists intended to kill the King, Duke of Lauderdale, Duke of Ormond, &c. which made the Earl of Danby not only give way to the prosecution of it, but to press the belief of it in all places and to all persons; and the Duke of York was not only acquitted of all design, but was to be killed himself if he did not comply.

In the month of September it (the plot) had its full course, and so much countenance at Whitehall, that a great many thought it a court stratagem to pretend fears and dangers to keep up the army that had been raised, and was by act of parliament to be disbanded before 26th August.

And within a little time, by the murder and exposing the body of Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey in the middle of October, the violence and rage of the people was grown to that height against the Papists, that no reason could be heard, but every foolish story against them passed for gospel; and when all force seemed bent against the Papists, it was reported Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey was seen last at Somerset-house, and by others at Arundale-house (the Duke of Norfolk's); it was also whispered that he was seen at the Cockpit (the Earl's of Danby's), and threatened by the Earl of Danby.

It was cunningly done to spread these reports, that it might be known what these persons could say in defence of themselves, and that they might be ready (especially the Cockpit and Arundale-house) to toss the fire from one to the other. It was wondered at that the Lord Treas-

surer was so soon glanced at, who had been so earnest to follow the discovery. But afterward he was found to be forward in it to carry it to the parliament for fear he should be struck at directly, and it should find belief. It is certain the Church of England men joined in this cry as heartily as any else; for they were always most eager against Popery, although they had friendship with the Cavalier Papists, and many considering men seeing an army kept up against an act of parliament were really zealous that fetters might be put upon the king, and therefore would join in shewing any discontent.

By this means the outcry was so very great that the court, who thought before, they might play with the plot, now saw plainly it would be no easy matter to get rid of it, and therefore it was thought the best way to shew a confidence in this loyal House of Commons, who would be sure to take notice of it themselves; and therefore the King mentioned it in his speech at the opening of the session of parliament as a plot of the Jesuits, but with that caution that he would leave it to law, and give no opinion of it for fear of saying too little or too much.

And therefore it was an unpardonable folly to give force to a design that was formed and conducted by the opposite party, as this must be concluded to be."

Lord Keeper North in his manuscript gives the following descriptions of the ferments in the nation during the time of the Popish plot and the Exclusion bill.

Extract First.

" They let none know the bottom of the accusation; for then no further use can be made of it; but they let the people press to have it searched to the bottom; and then

then they can manage and improve it as they please, and bring whom they will into the snare: And at first the discovery must not be made to the ministers of state, but to some justice of peace, mayor of a great city, as London, Bristol, &c. or committees of parliament for the better noise, and that it may not be suppressed, and they take care to have some forensical sciolist, a lawyer, who shall manage and direct the accusations, so as they may be skilful and agree with the rules of law."

Extract Second.

" Godfrey's murder they shall contrive as a stratagem of mischief: So that if there be two or three adverse parties, they may all be thought guilty. Then will they to avoid the odium, quarrel, and lay it upon one another; and laying it upon which the faction pleaseth, they shall have the help of all the rest."

Extract Third.

" They took advantage of Popery by a good law to exclude the Popish Lords out of parliament, and by working upon some great families to come into the church of England, as Norfolk's heir, Shrewsbury, Cardigan's heir, Lumley, &c."

Extract Fourth.

" And the anti-court party was very great even in the court itself: And all trimmers then were called the party volant in the House of Commons, and now declared and voted against the court in all things; and no wonder; for the King's affairs were looked upon at home as very declining, and most men thought if there should break out any troubles, it might endanger the monarchy; and men were willing to be safe at least, if they could not find their account in a change."

Extract Fifth.

“ The most loyal pretence that ever was thought of was that of the King’s safety: Who could be sure of that but such as had him in possession? which directly tends to his destruction.”

Extract Sixth.

“ The republicans applied themselves to all methods of sedition, and were so open in it that they had public councils for carrying it on, as the King’s Head club in Fleet-street was (though I doubt not but they had cabals of a more dark and dangerous nature), and many coffee-houses both in city and country where they vented news and libels, and proceeded with that success, that in 24 hours they could entirely possess the city with what reports they pleased, and in less than a week spread it all over the kingdom.

They could give out that any man who was averse to them was a Papist: And when the King did any thing pleasing to the people, they would discredit it before it could be known; and could put what colour they pleased upon foreign affairs, which they did by the help of foreign ministers. They had correspondents in all parts of the kingdom of the most active and greatest credit, so that when any members of parliament were to be chosen, they could disgrace every loyal person, and recommend whom they pleased; and they were most industrious in parliament time, when by having divers members in their councils, and those who were not members being always near the bars possessing the world with news they had fitted for the time, and arguing the questions that were in debate in the House, and taking care that all the members should be minded to repair to their seats before the question should be put.

By

By these means they influenced elections not only in the country, but upon disputes in the House. And they came to that boldness, that when this parliament could not be prevailed upon to pass an act of Comprehension, or to undermine the crown, they possessed the people that it was time to dissolve them, that the minds of the people were changed since their choice, and that they were a grievance; and were about to have grand juries to represent it to the judges at the assizes; but that was not ventured for fear when the parliament sat it should be punished. But upon a prorogation of more than a twelve-month, they attempted to have the parliament declare themselves dissolved; but the members would not drive that nail into their own flesh, which set the game a little back.

I thought it wonderful that when these things were visible, the House should suffer such a combination of men to sit openly, who made it their business not only to traduce the King's government but even their actions: and I concluded that when they were so negligent of their own frontiers, and did not preserve their credit by destroying these enemies of it, they could not be long lasting, and so it happened. For they (that is, the major part of them) joined in thwarting the King in every thing he designed, and in laying obloquies upon his government to that degree that it was not to be borne; and at last procured their dissolution to their great surprize, who thought the King would never have made so bold a step, and to the great joy of the King's Head club, who fell to work with all diligence to model the next House of Commons by their correspondencies in the country."

Extract Seventh.

"That incredible fictions should ever pass in courts of justice, without the courts making just observations

upon them, was extraordinary: But care was taken to terrify the judges with shouts and acclamations on the one part, and hissings on the other, by which they were to be persuaded, not only of the sense of the people, but of their violent desires, whereby they might imagine dangers to themselves if they should appear to check the stream."

Extract Eighth.

" Tradesmen, if such are not considerable, they are not worth notice; but if one be he who hath great power by the many that live under him, and having grown in riches by outwitting other men, and arrived at the government of the place, as mayor, alderman, &c. the faction may easily persuade him that the world is best governed that way, which makes him a commonwealthsman: When they have their ends, and raised a force, they may fright him into any thing; for know that he is the most insolent fool and cowardly knave that is in nature."

P A R T I.

B O O K I.

Dispositions of the People upon the Dissolution of the Parliament.——Prosecutions.——The Duke's Administration in Scotland.——Visit of the Prince of Orange.——King's distress in Foreign Politics.——Intrigue of the Duke's Return from Scotland.——The Duke's Situation.——Monmouth's Progress through the Western Counties.——The King's Invasion of the Charters.——Conspiracy.——Characters of the Conspirators, and their Objects.——Measures concerted.——Inferior Conspiracy for Assassination.——Disappointed by an Accident.——Shaftesbury's Retreat and Flight.——Conspiracy delayed.——Renewed.——Discovered.——Death of Lord Essex.——Lord Russel's Trial.——His parting with his Family and Lord Cavendish.——Other Anecdotes of his last Hours.——Sidney's Trial.——Anecdotes of his last Hours.——Other Trials and Punishments.——The King's Fluctuation about Monmouth.——Great Power of the King and Duke.——Mean Dependence of both on France.——Project for a Popish Army in Ireland.——Scotland modelled.——Intrigues of Sunderland against the Duke.——The King's Death.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

I INTEND to give a relation of the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the time when Charles the Second, by ceasing to govern by Parliaments, made the breach between him and the friends of liberty irreparable, until the sea-battle off La Hogue, which, by defeating James's hopes of recovering his crown, determined the success of the Revolution; a period, during which the laws were laid almost in ruins, in consequence of those very efforts which were made to preserve them; yet recovered all their honours, and established a system of freedom, which, after the struggles of six hundred years, was not rendered compleat, until that great æra of British liberty.

This period is full of events great in themselves, and of all others the most interesting to Britons. It exhibits the insidious attempts of one Prince to destroy liberty, with the desperate boldness of the meanest of his subjects to take vengeance upon him for it, and the more generous struggles of a few of the greatest of them, punished by an application of those laws which they meant to vindicate; the violent attempts of another against the rights of his people, defeated by his dethronement in the midst of his prosperity; and the establishment of a third Prince, who, though shaken by factions, and betrayed by false friendships, yet still generously protected that liberty he had bestowed. Whatever can touch the heart, or rouse the spirit, is to be found in this period. The tender death of Lord Russell, the heroic one of Sidney; the favourite son of one King sent to the block by his successor, and human nature disgraced in the outrageous punishment of his followers;

followers; a great monarch seeking refuge from the ancient enemies of his kingdom; a nephew fighting against his uncle, two sons-in-law against their father, and two Kings contending in a disputed kingdom, as upon a public theatre, for pre-eminence; faction in England and Scotland, rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, and invasion impending upon all the three kingdoms; distractions in the Royal family, divisions among the great, terrors among the people; France enjoying and insulting the misfortunes she created, but sharing them in the end; and a gallant nation in continual agitations, not the symptoms of weakness, but of vigour, keeping its course straight forward to liberty and glory.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

The dissolution of Charles the Second's last Parliament, in April of the year 1681, together with the general belief that he was never to summon another, produced various sentiments in the nation. The spirits of the Tories were raised, and those of the Whigs depressed; the former in proportion to their late fears, and the latter to their late hopes: For, from the vehemence of temper which men acquire by union, and still more by opposition in politics, the affection for the public was become a private passion in the minds of both parties. But the Tories exceeded the Whigs in the expression of their sentiments upon this event; because the triumphs of victory are more open than the complaints of sorrow; and because men attach themselves more strongly to a cause for which they have suffered, than to one by which they are only to gain. In return to Charles's appeal to his people, addresses were sent from every part of the kingdom*, testifying

Temper
of men
upon the
dissolution
of the
parlia-
ment.

* Gazettes.

PART I.
Book I.

1681.

disapprobation of the proceedings of the late Parliaments, and even treating parliaments themselves with irreverence. These addresses were not opposed by the Whigs, either from the sudden dejection under which they laboured, or from the fullness of disappointment and revenge; or because they knew, that addresses are, in Britain, generally the effects of party and example, but seldom the voice of the nation, or of reason*. Men of moderate sentiments were displeased with both parties; with the Whigs, because, in their zeal for liberty, they had refused the King's offer of limitations upon a Popish successor; and with the Tories, because, in the excess of their loyalty, they rejoiced in the King's resolution to assemble parliaments no longer.

Prosecutions,

The first effects of the present calm, appeared in prosecutions against those who had lately given disturbance to the King; engines of vengeance which always throw a greater gloom upon the minds of the subjects, when directed by the Sovereign, than when promoted by the passions of the people, because they are deemed the common attendants of tyranny, and because it appears more terrible to depend upon the will of one than upon that of many. Shaftesbury was sent to the tower, upon a charge of having instigated insurrections. Colledge a London joiner, Rouse another mechanic, and several others, were seized, as persons who had been prevailed upon by these instigations; and Lord Howard, upon an accusation of having written a libel against the King.

Shaftes-

* Young Cromwell, when he was drinking, used to sit upon a chest which contained the addresses of 1,600,000 people, and to say, he sat now upon the lives and fortunes of all the people of England.

Shaftesbury's spirit deserted him in the solitude of a prison. He applied to Charles for leave to retire * to America for ever; and, if this were granted, offered to disclose what he knew. But, when a pardon was offered to the mechanics, upon a condition that they would swear against their leader, they rejected it with disdain. Most of the witnesses made use of by the court against the prisoners, were the same men whom their party had formerly employed against the court in the Popish plot: A retaliation which threw equal disgrace upon both parties. The juries of London, who were of the popular party, refused to find bills against Colledge, Rouse, Howard, Shaftesbury, or others of their party. But, under the pretence that Colledge's treason was committed at Oxford, he was brought to a second inquisition before a jury in that city; because it was known, that the inhabitants were more in the interests of the court. The Oxford jury condemned him to die for the same crime, and upon the same evidence which the London jury disregarded against Shaftesbury. And the exulting shouts of the people at Oxford, even in court, for the condemnation of the one prisoner, were re-echoed from London † for the acquittal of the other. The heads of Colledge's defences, which he had in writing in his pocket, were taken from him as he went to his trial, under pretence that they contained seditious matter, were perused by
the

* Sir John Reresby, 124.

† A letter in the paper office from Sir Leoline Jenkins to the Prince of Orange, of date 25th November 1681, says, "The acclamations in court for Shaftesbury's acquittal lasted an hour."

PART I.
Book I.

1681.

the counsel against him, and handed to the bench. The only apology made for these things was, that an example of the same kind had been exhibited in the case of a prisoner tried for the popish plot: An excuse which pointed out the cruel injustice of party on both sides. Shaftesbury brought a prosecution against Graham the solicitor of the treasury, and others, for suborning witnesses to take away his life. The judges declared from the bench *, that the prisoners could not expect justice from a London jury, and directed the trial to be brought in another county: Shaftesbury, from the bar, answered, That justice was not to be found against the court out of London, and withdrew his prosecution: So that the integrity of the capital was given up by the one party, and of the country by the other. The crown commenced a prosecution for high treason against Wilmore, who had been foreman of the London jury which acquitted Colledge; and, when the prospect of success in that prosecution failed, a new one for a trifling misdemeanor was directed against him, which ended in a fine of 10,000 pounds. This sentence was published in the Gazette †, as if government had gloried in making private injustice the instrument of public vengeance. Captain Wilkinson, an old republican officer, then a prisoner for debt in the fleet, was pressed by Charles himself, to inform against his friend and benefactor Lord Shaftesbury: But he refused; reflecting, by the dignity of his conduct, upon the want of it in the King. Before the last parliament was dissolved, Fitzharris, a man of family in Ireland, had communicated

* Gazette, No. 1721.

† Ibid. 1723.

cated to one Everard, a libel, which he was writing against the royal family: Everard, betraying his friend, revealed the secret to Sir William Waller; this gentleman, forgetting his rank, placed himself behind a hanging to hear it read. Fitzharris, when prosecuted by the crown at common law, for the libel, informed the popular leaders, that the King had employed him to write and disperse it among the popular party, and then to fix the crime of both upon them. The house of Commons, in order to convert this intelligence into evidence, and to save Fitzharris from the prosecution at common law, had impeached him before the house of Lords: But the Lords, scorning to make themselves the tools of party, refused to receive the impeachment. When Fitzharris, upon the dissolution of the parliament, found himself at the King's mercy, he turned against his former friends, and gave information, that the popular party had employed him to forge his former story, in order to blacken the King. Fitzharris, however, having been executed, the court printed a declaration made by him the night before he died, in order to support his odious imputation against the Whigs. That party, on the other hand, in order to fix it upon their opponents, printed an account of his declarations during his imprisonment. A clergyman of the church of England attested the one publication; the city-magistrates, Bethel, Cornish, Clayton, and Treby, the other. Even in the hour of his execution, both parties contended for his last words in their favour. And thus the intended supporters of religion, of public peace, and of justice, were brought forward alike, in the most awful scenes, to serve as the instruments of party and defamation. The death of this miscreant was attended
by

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

by that of the most innocent of men, Oliver Plunket, titular popish primate of Ireland, whom Charles, in order to carry on the affectation of his belief of the popish plot, permitted, even after the dissolution of the parliament, to be tried for a pretended plot of the same kind in Ireland. Yet, in this execution, the Whigs neither felt as they ought to have done, for the innocence of Plunket, nor the Tories, for the guilt of the King. Amidst this universal corruption of manners, the English nation was, for the first time, taught, That the abuse of laws may be worse than the want of them. But those of deeper reflection perceived, that an entire revolution of government alone could restore the political morals of the people *.

The
Duke's
admini-
stration in
Scotland.

The accounts which were brought from Scotland of the Duke of York's administration, suggested similar reflections. He had brought into parliament the scheme of an oath, which all in public station should be required to swear. In the terms of this oath, they were to maintain the supremacy of the King† in church matters, and the doctrine of passive obedience, and to declare their resolution to make no alteration in the church or the state. Mr Fletcher of Salton, after long opposing the bill, with all the fire of ancient eloquence, and of his own spirit, made a motion, which the court-party could not oppose in decency, That the security of the protestant religion should be made a part of the test. The drawing of the clause was committed to Lord Stair, President of the court of Session, in compliment to his office; a man, who, upon

* Ralph, with the authorities which he quotes.

† Act 1. parliament 1669.

upon the Duke's arrival in Scotland, had warned him, in a public harangue, to beware of attempting to weaken the protestant religion *. Lord Stair, in the draught of the clause, slyly expressed the protestant religion to be that which was contained in an old Scottish confession of faith †, which not only was adverse to prelacy, but admitted the lawfulness of resistance. The clause passed without attention, from the implicit confidence of all in the abilities of the person who drew it. Thus modelled, the test was a bundle of inconsistencies; for it inferred an obligation, upon those who took it, to conform to any religion the King pleased, and yet to adhere to the presbyterian religion; to oppose prelacy, and yet to maintain the present constitution of the church, which was prelacy; and to renounce, and yet affirm the doctrine of non-resistance. With a view to save the Duke from that part of the test which provided for the security of the protestant religion, it was proposed, while the bill was under debate, that the princes of the royal family should not be obliged to take the test. Lord Belhaven having said, in his speech, that the chief use of the test was to bind a popish successor, was instantly sent prisoner ‡ to the castle by the parliament; and the Lord Advocate declared, that he would impeach him for the words. Not intimidated by this commitment, or these threats, the Earl of Argyle avowed the same sentiments with Belhaven; and his speech was believed to have sunk the deeper into the mind of the Duke, because he did not permit any disapprobation of

VOL. I.

B

it

* Lord Stair's apology, a few copies of it were printed.

† The Confession of the year 1560.

‡ Gazette 5th April 1681.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

it to be expressed at the time. Soon after, the Duke removed Lord Stair from his seat of judgment, and directed prosecutions against him, on penal laws *, in the court of justiciary, the privy council, and the parliament; and forced him for safety to fly from his country. Fletcher was obliged to fly likewise. In the mean time, the Duke having heard that Argyle made scruples about the test, called upon him to take it publicly in council. The Earl added to his oath this explanation; "That he took the test, so far as it was consistent with itself; and that he meant not to preclude himself, in a lawful way, from endeavouring to make alterations in church and state, so far as they were consistent with his religion and loyalty." This explanation passed unobserved. The Duke, with a smiling countenance, desired Argyle to take his seat at the council board, sat by him himself, and often, in the course of business, whispered to him in secret. The council, the same day, took under deliberation a general explanation, which all might be at liberty to make part of the test; a deliberation which shewed how excusable were the scruples of Argyle. And soon after, the King, by a proclamation, gave a liberty to all his subjects to take the oath with that explanation †. Nevertheless, Argyle, a few days after, was removed from the council-board, committed to the castle of Edinburgh, and charged with high treason for the words of his explanation. He wrote instantly to the Duke, offering satisfaction: The suit was refused: A jury of eleven peers,

* Lord Stair's apology.

† Gazette 21st November 1681. This was upon 15th November, before Argyle was condemned.

peers, and four gentlemen, of which the Marquis of Montrose, grandson to the great Montrose, was chancellor, unanimously found him guilty. Amidst the general sorrows for Argyle, men were indignant, to see the noblest families of the nation submit to become the meanest instruments of violence against one of their own number. The Duke stopped judgment upon the verdict, until he should receive directions from court: Charles ordered judgment to pass, but execution to be respite till further orders. And, in the mean time, Argyle made his escape, by changing cloaths with Lady Sophia Lindsay. Sentence of death and of forfeiture was pronounced against him in his absence. The apology which the King and Duke made * for these severities was, that they were only intended to force the Earl to surrender some jurisdictions of his family, which were incompatible with those of the King: "An apology, which shews how little true elevation of mind is required to form the project of absolute power. Terrified by the fate of Argyle, the rest of the great families consented to an act of parliament †, which laid all their jurisdictions at the foot of the throne ‡. But the Duke procured, from the Scots parliament, an act more important to himself: For, it was declared to be high treason to maintain the lawfulness of excluding him from the succession. This act put an end to the hopes of

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

* Sprat. I have seen the evidence of this apology, in a letter from Charles the Second to his brother, in the Scots College at Paris.

† Act 18. 1681.

‡ A very different method was taken in the late reign to put an end to these jurisdictions. Vid. History of feudal property, cap. History of jurisdictions.

PART I.
Book I.

1681.

of the exclusionists in England; because it shewed them, that a civil war must be entailed upon the two kingdoms, if the Duke should be settled upon the throne of the one, and excluded from that of the other. Fletcher, Stair, Argyle, and many others who had opposed the Duke, took refuge in Holland, and filled the Prince of Orange's court with complaints of their country's wrongs and their own.

The news of Argyle's punishment, when carried to England, struck all the exclusionists with anxieties for their future fates. As Argyle had been eminent for his loyalty, and his sufferings in the cause of it, even many of the royalists perceived with pain *, that no past services would be received as atonements for the want of the most implicit obedience to the Duke's will. His administration in Scotland against non-conformists, and against those who were accused of accession to the late conspiracy, was a continuation of the rigours of Lauderdale, who, by the fury of his temper, had brought a great part of his countrymen to such a state of mind, that it was become impossible to govern them, either by mercy or severity. The great latitude which the laws of Scotland gave to those who prosecuted the enemies of government, together with the extreme animosity of the Tories against the Whigs, all of whom they regarded as enthusiasts, assassins, and rebels, threw imputations of cruelty upon the Duke, which, perhaps, should have been confined to those to whom the execution of the laws was committed. It

WAS

* Sprat, who wrote under the eyes of both the royal brothers, says, in pag. 162. That Charles complained that there had been a defection of the royalists of late.

was even reported, that he attended with curiosity the torture of state-prisoners, and beheld their agonies with indifference. And these reports, though probably false *, raised a general horror, even from the chance of their being true.

While such was the state and the temper of parties, the Prince of Orange proposed to pay a visit in England. The reason which he assigned for it to the King, was, that he might have an opportunity of justifying his past conduct in public matters, and of removing some misunderstandings which had lately arisen between them on private accounts. The Duke, who had not been consulted, either by his brother, or the Prince, was alarmed to hear of an interview in his absence. The French reproached Charles with submitting to it. The King therefore gave little encouragement to the visit: But the Prince was determined. Attempts to reconciliation between persons alienated from each other, for the most part only widen former breaches. The King believed, that his intention was to survey the strength of the popular party, in order to turn it to his own advantage. The apology which the Prince made for Fagell's memorial was, that the Dutch and himself thought an act of exclusion would quiet the nation in the mean time, but could not take effect in the end. He pressed Charles in vain to a French war, and to summon a new parliament. He made also
some

Visit of
the Prince
of Orange.
July.

* Wuddrow gained credit to the story of the Duke's attending tortures, by appealing to the record of the privy council, in the case of one Sprewll. I have examined the record, but can find no reason for Wuddrow's imputation.

PART I.
Book I.

1681.

some attempts to mediate between the King and the popular party *, declaring against all limitations upon a popish successor, but, under the pretence of representing the demands of that party, insinuating that the militia should be committed to parliament. In the course of the conversation, the Prince having observed to Charles, that the popular party was the most numerous: "That is," answered Charles, "because you speak with none else." But Charles marked still more strongly his suspicions of the Prince after he was gone. "I wonder," said he, "why the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth are so fond of each other, when they both aim at the same mistress!" The Duchess of Portsmouth, who, after the dissolution of Charles's last parliament, had altered her conduct entirely, and owed to the King, that she had been misled by the popular party to believe that he could never enjoy quiet without consenting to the exclusion, now humoured his prejudices against the Prince: For she told Barillon, who she well knew would tell it again to the King, that the Prince had pressed her to use her interest with the King, still to consent to the exclusion †. The Prince, perceiving he could not succeed with the King, paid court to the popular party. He visited Lord Ruffel. He dined with the city, although Charles desired he would not, and although the Lords Halifax and Hyde advised him against it. And Charles and he parted in ten days with equal discontent ‡.

Some

* Lord Guilford's memorandum in North's axamen, page 133. and 473.

† Vid. appendix to this chapter.

‡ Gazette, July 25. Aug. 8.

Some time before this visit, the French King had seized the principality of Orange. The Prince understood, from what had passed whilst he was in England, that Charles was to interest himself in the recovery of it. But, when the Dutch ambassador at Paris desired Lord Preston, the English ambassador, to concur with him in his application in favour of the Prince, Preston answered, he had no instructions; and, when the Dutch applied in England for the King's concurrence, they got no better answer: Inattentions which added to the Prince's former displeasure *.

But now the King's double dealing, and double ties, brought him into that cruel distress to which such conduct exposes Princes, and private persons alike: While Spain, on the one hand, called upon him for help against the encroachments of France, in terms of his late public treaty, and Lewis, on the other, threatened him with the loss of the pension in the late private treaty, if he gave it. His situation, as commonly happens in such cases, made him at last lose the very feeling of pride; for, when the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors proposed to him to enter into an association for the preservation of the Netherlands, he consulted privately with Barillon upon the answer he should give them; and then gave one which flattered them with his help, while it kept him disengaged. And, when Lewis applied to him, not to obstruct an attempt which he was meditating against Luxemburgh, the key to Germany, Holland, and Flanders, Charles made just that

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

Charles's neglect of the prince's interest.

The King's distress with regard to foreign affairs.

* The correspondence between Lord Sunderland and Lord Preston, which contains the detail of this affair, is in the paper office. Vid. also appendix to this chapter.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

that degree of opposition, as to gain a present of a million of livres for dropping it; a bargain to which Lord Hyde, afterwards so famous by the name of Earl of Rochester, was the only person privy. But Charles did not stop here: He used the little authority, which might be supposed to remain with him over the Prince of Orange, not to interpose in saving that town; and the more effectually to serve France, he offered his arbitration to Spain concerning it; and, when his service was declined, made use of the pretended affront as a reason for taking no further concern in the injuries done to Spain *.

Intrigue
of the
Duke's re-
turn from
Scotland.

Soon after the Prince of Orange's departure, the Duke of York had been suddenly called to London by his brother. All those who had either hopes or fears from the exiled Prince, then believed, that this measure was taken for the purpose of putting the direction of the affairs of England into his hands. But the actions of Kings do not always spring from public motives. After the dissolution of the parliament, Lord Sunderland, who saw all things at the feet of the King, quitted his former connections with the popular party, and paid court to the Duchess of Portsmouth alone, by whom he knew Charles was chiefly guided, in a country in which he believed † he had scarcely a friend. He satisfied her, how visionary were the hopes of the crown for her son, with which she had been flattered by Shaftesbury; and suggested, that she should apply to the King for a great settlement for her son upon the hereditary revenue. But, as no grant upon
that

* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† Sir William Temple.

that revenue could be effectual against the heir of the crown without his consent, he advised her to get the Duke recalled, that his consent might be obtained. And he promised, that, if he was himself brought again into power, he would give all the aid to the settlement which a minister could give it. The intrigue succeeded. Sunderland, through the Duchess of Portsmouth's means, was received into favour by the King; through the King, was pardoned by the Duke; was brought immediately into the privy council, and, not long after, replaced in his former office of secretary of state. The Duke consented to the settlement required; but contrived to throw so many difficulties of law in the way, that it never took effect.

In the mean time Sunderland, by flatteries, promises, and services, brought the Duke to place some degree of confidence in him. As a proof of his attachment, he persuaded the King to fix his brother's residence near his own. In order to gain still further upon the Duke, he advised the King to bring him again into power. But Charles, conscious that, in his brother's want of popularity, he had himself become unpopular, would not listen to the advice. For, when the Duke, in his return from Scotland, waited upon his brother at Newmarket, and told him, "That he had no ambition
" to meddle again in the affairs of England, but that
" he wished to be intrusted with those of Scotland;" Charles received the declaration with an answer, which was more sincere than polite: And, before the intrigue of Lord Sunderland and of the Duchess of Portsmouth took place, Charles had refused to allow his brother to quit Scotland, unless he would conform outwardly to the church of England; and had sent the

PART I.
BOOK I.

1681.

The
Duke's
want of
power in
England.

PART I.
Book I.

1681.

Duke's brother-in law, Lord Hyde, to Scotland, to persuade him to comply with that condition. Hence, during a year and a half, the situation of the Duke in England was truly awkward; seeing he was beloved, yet not trusted by his brother; without power, yet ashamed to own it; and blamed by his enemies for all the evils they suffered, and by his friends for all the disappointments of their hopes.

His great
power in
Scotland.
1682.

One end, however, the Duke obtained by his journey to England. He got liberty to dispose of power in Scotland as he pleased. In order to make use of it, he went to that country for a short time, where he placed the administration in the hands of the Lords Queensberry, Perth, and Aberdeen, who were attached to himself. In his voyage home again, the vessel in which he sailed perished by shipwreck; and he, with a few others, were saved in the barge. This accident was made remarkable by two circumstances: The one, that the person whom, in a fatal hour to himself, he discovered the greatest anxiety to save, was Colonel Churchill; and the other, that, when the mariners, who had been left to perish in the wreck, saw the Duke in safety in the barge, they gave three huzzas, while their vessel was sinking: Generous shouts, by which Princes might be taught to reflect upon the tenderness which they owe to their subjects!

Mon-
mouth's
return and
progress
thro' Eng-
land.

When the Duke of Monmouth heard that the Duke of York had fixed his residence in England, he returned in the year 1682 from abroad; and, when he arrived, he ordered the bar, the common mark of bastardy, to be taken from the arms of his coach*. The common welcome
of

* Sidney's letters to Mr Saville, page 54.

of the city did not content him. He made a progress through the discontented counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, with a retinue of above an hundred persons, armed, and magnificently accoutered. The Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Rivers, Colchester, Delamere, Ruffel, and Grey, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and many others of the high gentry of the Whig party, met him at the head of their tenants in different places. And, as the ancient manners of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town, he quitted his coach, and rode into it on horseback: The nobility and gentry went foremost in a band; at a distance, and single, rode the Duke; and at a distance behind him, the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him, formed themselves into three ranks; the nobility, gentry, and burghers, being placed in the first, the tenants in the next, and the servants in the last. He gave orders for 200 covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at the one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them, by going out at the other. At other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen. At Liverpool, he even ventured to touch for the King's-evil. He entered into all country diversions; and, as he was of wonderful agility, even ran races himself upon foot; and when he had outstripped the swiftest of the racers, he ran again in his boots, and beat them, though running in their shoes. The prizes which he gained during the day, he gave away at christenings in the evening. The bells

PART I.
BOOK I.

1682.

bells were rung, bonfires made, and volleys of fire-arms discharged, wherever he came: The populace waving their hats in the air, shouted after him, "A Monmouth! A Monmouth!" And all promised him their votes in future elections to parliament. Informations of these things were sent hourly to court, by the spies who were sent to the country for that purpose; and the King and his brother were the more alarmed, because they knew, that the royalists had held their consultations for the restoration of the royal family at horse-races, and cock-matches; upon which account, Cromwell had forbid those diversions. Jeffreys was at this time chief justice of Chester, and then first disclosed that temper which afterwards burst forth with so much fury. Some disturbances having happened at Chester, he wrote to court for a commission of oyer and terminer, to be issued under the pretence of trying coiners and clippers; and then made use of it against Monmouth's followers, boasting of his invention, and rejoicing in the punishments he inflicted*.

In the midst of Monmouth's triumphs, Charles gave orders to take him into custody. The day he was arrested, he was to dine in the public streets of Stafford with all the inhabitants, in consequence of an invitation which they had given him. A single messenger entered the town, shewed his writ, and carried him off. Monmouth despatched Sir Thomas Armstrong to London for a *habeas corpus*: It was instantly granted; Monmouth continued his journey to London. Men knew not which most to admire, the reverence of the people
for

* His letters are in the paper office. From papers in that office I have taken the circumstances of Monmouth's progress through the counties.

for the laws when they saw them displayed, or the noble nature of the law of personal freedom, which gave security even to a disturber of the state, until a legal charge was brought against him.

This year was signalized by a project, which was calculated to lay the constitution and the King's enemies equally at his feet. As the scheme of the *quo warrantos* was the great public circumstance of Charles's reign which discovered his intention to undermine the liberties of England, and as it was one of the chief foundations of all the future calamities of his family, it is proper to give a particular account of it here.

From the grand principle of sympathy in human nature, which, by communicating the passions of all to all, increases their joint force, towns are generally the seats alike of liberty and enthusiasm, where enthusiasm prevails in a nation: The popular and dissenting interests upon this account, joining, had gained, during the opposition to Charles the First, a superiority in the magistracies of most of the boroughs, which was afterwards extended to almost all of them upon the usurpation of Cromwell. At the Restoration, a law was indeed made, which empowered the King, within a limited time, to remove obnoxious magistrates from boroughs. But, from the popular odium which attended the execution of this law, little use was made of it. Hence Charles found continual opposition to his measures from the city of London, and from most of the boroughs of the kingdom. Hence the juries of the city, who were named by the popular magistrates, to try the King's complaints against the mutinies of his subjects, acquitted most of the prisoners. And hence, although Charles changed four parliaments in the course

PART I.
BOOK I.

1682.

The
King's in-
vasion of
the char-
ters.

of

PART I.
Book I.

1682.

of two years, he was not able to bring one house of commons to comply with his will. By the law of England, the validity of charters of corporations might be inquired into by the writ of *quo warranto*. The profligate Jeffrey's suggested to the King, that most of them might be annulled, in consequence of such an inquiry. Charles began with the charter of the city, against which he directed a prosecution in the King's Bench. It is needless to mention the frivolousness of the grounds upon which the action was maintained; because the King avowed it, when, in a publication authorised by him *, he afterwards acknowledged, that his view in overturning the city-charters, was to take the nomination of the juries from the popular party. At the same time, under colour of law, but more by violence, the details of which, though interesting once, are unimportant now, he forced a Mayor and Sheriffs of his own choosing upon the city. After the attack upon the city-charter succeeded, it was transferred to almost every other borough in the kingdom. The most trifling deviations from the terms of ancient charters, the most insignificant offences committed by the officers of boroughs, even against the most obsolete laws, were made the pretences for the forfeiting of charters. One or two instances may be given as examples. The charter of St Ives was attacked, because that borough had four constables, instead of the original number of three, and three serjeants at mace, instead of two. The complaint against Oxford was, that the city had five aldermen, when the charter gave only four; that the fair was kept in one place instead of another; and that Stephen Kibble, the town clerk, had signed

* Sprat.

signed himself the King's clerk, without the King's leave. In order that these prosecutions might be more effectually carried on, a committee was named by the King to receive informations; an institution which irritated one half of the people against the other, and debased both. The greatest men in the nation became informers; and individuals indulged their private piques, under pretence of serving the public interest. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, prostituted the holiest of professions to the basest of offices; even the elegant Lord Halifax, and the virtuous Duke of Ormond, from false ideas of loyalty, joined with the meanest of mankind in promoting the surrenders and the forfeitures of charters. Judgments of forfeiture fell upon many boroughs: And many more, conscious of the inequality of the combat between them and their Sovereign, before judges named by him, of high tory principles, and removeable at pleasure*, made voluntary surrenders of their constitutions. The King new-modelled the charters, and restored them, but reserved to the crown the nomination to all power in the boroughs, and filled them with electors agreeable to himself. Measures which, had they not been defeated by the Revolution, could not have failed, by throwing parliamentary elections into the hands of the Sovereign, to have introduced a tyranny the more painful to the subjects, because the old forms of freedom would have been continually before their eyes†.

While the Duke in Scotland, and the King in England, were pursuing those measures, to bring the spirits of the people in both kingdoms under subjection, there was

Rye-house
plot.

1683.

* Sprat, 164.

† I have taken the circumstances of the *quo warrantos* from papers in the paper office.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Com-
plaints on
which it
was found-
ed.

was a band of friends, who, having long opposed the King's measures in the common way of party, prepared to seek relief, where freedom for ever points it out to her friends, when the voice of the laws it put to silence. They reasoned among themselves: "The King, " by securing the juries in the city, had now at his " mercy the lives of all who had hitherto exposed them- " selves for their country. By the disuse of parliaments, " he had put it out of their power to recur to consti- " tutional remedies. Even if he should alter his pre- " sent plan of governing without those assemblies, he " had, by making himself master of parliamentary e- " lections in the boroughs, barred all legal opposition " to his will for the future. The Duke, by bending " the martial spirits of the Scots, would form them to " be the fittest instruments of tyranny against the Eng- " lish. What was left for them, freemen, the sons of " freemen, to preserve their freedom, but resistance? " The principles of self-defence called upon them, " their duty to their country commanded them, to " prevent that blow, which Princes, who aimed at ar- " bitrary power, perhaps, already meditated against " both them and their country. It was glorious to op- " pose that power, although they should perish in the " attempt. But their countrymen were not as yet so " lost to shame and to virtue, as to abandon their de- " liverers. If they should be abandoned, Britons, yet " unborn, would bless their names, and weep for their " fates."

Charac-
ters of
conspira-
tors and
their ob-
jects.

This band of friends was composed of Lord Russell, illustrious from the nobility of his descent; of Hampden, deriving still greater lustre from the commoner his grandfather; of Lord Essex, the friend of Russell; and
of

of Algernoon Sidney, who derived his blood from a long train of English nobles and heroes, and his sentiments from the patriots and heroes of antiquity; a man in some of whose letters * all the manly, yet tender eloquence

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

* The writings of Mr Sidney are unequal, like those of most men who are not professedly scholars. But how far the above observation is just, may be seen from the following letter, which he wrote to one of his friends who had advised him to return into England after the Restoration. —“ Sir, I am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs: But when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment and choice. I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope, I have given some testimony of it. I think, that being exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty, which we hoped to establish, oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my

PART I.
Book I.

1683.

loquence of Brutus, breathes forth, and who, in firmness and simplicity of character, resembled that first of Romans.

old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no: Better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or, at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope, I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will no longer live than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come, wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers: Let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps, they may find the King's glory is their shame, his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation (which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery; a dear price paid for that, which is
not

Romans. Lord Ruffel, though heir to the greatest fortune in the kingdom, yet esteeming the meanest freeman to be his equal, so disinterested, that he never accepted any office of profit or power under government, was the most popular man in England. From principle and reasoning, more than from natural vigour of sentiment, he assumed the high tone of opposition to arbitrary power, and therefore the higher praise was due to him. When Charles disappointed the bill of exclusion, Lord Ruffel said, "If my father had advised the measure, I would have been the first to impeach him." But what he only said, Essex and Sidney would have done. Essex had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the head of the treasury; but threw every honour of government behind him, because he preferred the people to the King. Sidney had been active equally in parliament, and in the field, against Charles the First, as long as that Prince was an object of terror; but, when he was appointed to be one of his judges, he refused to trample upon an enemy who could no longer defend himself. He checked and prevented some attempts against the life of Charles the Second, while a youth. He opposed Cromwell, from the same hatred of arbitrary power, which had made him rebel against his Sovereign. After the Restoration, he submitted

not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it.—My thoughts as to King and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant in all occasions; and to you a most affectionate servant."

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

submitted to a voluntary banishment during sixteen years; because he did not esteem that to be any longer his country, from which he thought liberty had fled. He returned to England, only with a view to pay the last duties to his father, the Earl of Leicester, who was dying, and then to quit it for ever: But drawing in with his native air that spirit of party, which scarce any Briton can resist, he altered his intention, and plunged into all the cabals of the popular leaders in parliament. He had received a pardon from Charles the Second, for his offences against government: But, like Brutus, he thought that no obligations to himself could shake off those which he owed to his country. The high rank of the Duke of Monmouth, with his still higher popularity in the nation, made those men receive him into their councils, who was at this time particularly irritated by the affronts which had been lately put upon him. Essex introduced into the same councils Lord Howard, who, forgetting the nobility of his blood amidst republican notions, had sat as a commoner * in one of Cromwell's parliaments; a man against whom Russel, though his near relation †, had long entertained an aversion; either from an antipathy, which nature sometimes gives men against their bane, or from the common repugnance which people of silent tempers have to the loquacious. But Howard assumed merit from his late sufferings, and his continual complaints of them were accounted pledges of his sincerity.

By

* Late Memoirs of the Howards, by a gentleman of the family.

† General dictionary, voce Lord Russel.

By long society in party, the sentiments of these men in politics had come to be the same; and, as often happens to men of similar sentiments, they believed that their objects were the same too, although they were very different. Russel, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no further use of insurrection, than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic, which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidst public distractions, to pave a way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life.

Although these persons disliked Shaftesbury, they all, except Sidney, who scorned the intercourse, entered into a communication of measures with him, because they stood in need of his vast party in the city, which was as daring as himself. Shaftesbury's only object was revenge. For, having lately informed the Duke of York, that the Duchess of Portsmouth had prevailed upon the King to get her son named his successor by parliament; and having offered to communicate other secrets to the Duke, if he would pardon what was past, the Duke broke off the conversation, by saying coldly, "My Lord Shaftesbury, you stand more in need of the King's pardon, than of mine." Lord Grey, endowed with the knowledge of letters and arts, but who hid under it a soul void of that virtue to which that knowledge is allied, joined the conspiracy; a man, from whose loose life no generous enterprise was expected;

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

They join
with
Shaftes-
bury.

pected; for, a jury had lately found him guilty * of debauching his wife's sister, a daughter of a noble family; but, in the noise of public distractions, he hoped to make his private vices be forgot by the world and himself. Sir Thomas Armstrong, equally careless, but more innocent, followed his example: He had been Colonel of the guards, Gentleman of the horse to the King, the attendant of all his fortunes, and a companion in his pleasures: But the same social disposition, which had attached him formerly to the father, attached him now to the son. These were joined by Trenchard, who had made the motion for the bill of exclusion in the house of commons, and who exhibited in his person an example, common enough in public life, of great political, but of little personal courage. Major Wildman, a violent republican, who had been an agitator in Cromwell's army, Rumsey, one of Cromwell's colonels, whose reputation as a brave blunt foldier was high, and Ferguson, a Scotsman, and dissenting clergyman, remarkable for serving his party, and saving himself, in all plots, were the only persons of inferior note who were admitted to their cabals. Their meetings were held chiefly at the house of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant in the city, and who was accounted an humble and discreet dependant; a dangerous character to be trusted with the secrets of the great, in conspiracies. The most formidable of the conspirators were Essex, Sidney, and Hampden; partly because they were deists, and partly because they who believe they have a right over their own lives, are always masters of those of other men †. But Hampden, formed rather for the detail

* State trials.

† Hampden killed himself after the Revolution. Essex's

detail of opposition in parliament, than for the great strokes of faction in the state, although eminent when compared with other persons, had neither the talents nor the virtues of the two former. Ruffel invited Lord Cavendish, the friend whom he loved most, to join the party. Cavendish, who thought the project rash and premature, refused; and advised Ruffel to retreat, if he could without dishonour, but to proceed, if he could not.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Without explaining themselves to each other upon the ends they proposed, the conspirators agreed upon an insurrection. Shaftesbury, who had been accustomed to city-tumults from his earliest youth, pressed for its being begun, and without loss of time, in the city, where, as he expressed himself, "He had 10,000 brisk boys ready to start up at a motion of his finger." Monmouth, who despised the citizens, because he had been accustomed to regular troops, thought the country the more proper scene of action at first; "Be-
" cause," he said, "if the King's troops, which were
" only about 5000 men, and at that time all quartered
" in London, should march out to quell the insurrec-
" tion, the capital would be left unguarded; or, if
" they continued in town to over-awe it, the insurgents
" would increase in numbers and courage in the coun-
" try." At last, it was agreed, that, in order to create the greater distraction, the attempt should be made both in town and in the country at the same time.

Plan of
the con-
spiracy.

For

sex's death, together with a letter from Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's son, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 24th July 1683, in the paper-office, shews, that Effex had the same principles. Those of Sidney appear from his letter above quoted.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

For this purpose, Shaftesbury undertook to raise the city, which he had divided into twenty parts, having fixed the commanders, and they the men under them, who were to act in each division; though partly from suspicion, and partly through pride, he refused to give lists of his associates. Monmouth engaged that he would prevail upon Lord Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Lord Delamer, and Sir Gilbert Gerard, to make an insurrection in Cheshire; and Lord Ruffel, that Sir William Courtney, who was tenderly attached to him, Sir Francis Drake, and other gentlemen in the west, should raise another in the western counties. Trenchard gave assurances that all the inhabitants of the disaffected town of Taunton should be in arms at a minute's warning. Shaftesbury was desired to connect the party with the discontented Scots, and with the Earl of Argyle, because he was connected with them himself. Monmouth, Grey, and Armstrong, at one time, and Wildman at another, surveyed the guards, to observe how they might be secured. The general alarm, which was intended to have been given at Michaelmas in the year 1682, was deferred from time to time, by different accidents. It was once fixed for Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, the 17th of November, because that Princess had carried the glories of the English name as high as, they said, Charles and his brother had laid them low. But, afterwards, it occurring, that most of the guards were that day put upon duty, in order to prevent the disorders in the streets, with which it was usually accompanied, the time was put off until the Sunday following; because, on a Sunday, the streets could be crowded with mechanics, without giving suspicion. But Ferguson, assigning another reason for the change,

change, told some of his associates in the city, " That
 " the sanctity of the work was suited to the sanctity of
 " the day."

But, as it is impossible to check the ardour of conspirators, in a country where every man glories in thinking for himself, a great number of those whom Shaftesbury had destined for the alarm in the city, becoming tired with delays, entered into a combination to assassinate the King and the Duke. Rumsey, Lieutenant Colonel Walcot, one of the officers who had * guarded Charles the First to the scaffold; Rumbold, formerly a Lieutenant in the republican service, and now a maltster, who, from the boldness of his spirit, and the loss of an eye †, passed among his associates by the name of *Hannibal*; Goodenough, one of the late popular under-sheriffs of London; Ayloff, a lawyer, whose aunt had been married to Chancellor Clarendon; Holloway, a merchant; Rouse, who had so lately escaped the fate of Colledge; and Ferguson; were the most active partisans in this subordinate concert. Ferguson took advantage of his profession, to remove any scruples which remained with his companions, by assuring them, that the sixth commandment made it their duty to take away two lives, in order to save those of thousands, which must be lost in an insurrection. With the savage pretensions to justice, which often accompany public reformation, when undertaken by the lower orders of mankind, the interior tribe of conspirators resolved to put the mayor and sheriffs to death,

PART I.
 BOOK I.

1683.

Inferior
 conspiracy
 to assassinate the
 King and
 Duke,

VOL. I.

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and

* Sir Leoline Jenkins's papers, No 77. in the paper office.

† Sprat, 38.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

and hang up their skins in Guild-hall, as examples to their successors; and to mark Westminster-hall, and the house of commons, with similar memorials of their resentment against particular judges and members of parliament. But they differed among themselves upon the method of executing their purpose against the King and his brother, partly from the same idea of connecting the appearance of justice with the manner of their death, and partly from that desire of impunity which frustrates most desperate actions. Some proposed to kill them at the Lord Mayor's feast, in the view of that city which they had injured; others to do it in the streets during night, while the Princes were paying "lewd visits," as they were called, in their chairs. But the former of those projects, because too public, was thought to be dangerous; the other, because private, appeared liable to mistakes. Among other schemes, it was suggested, to fire twenty pocket blunderbusses into the King's box in the playhouse; a suggestion, to which Lord Howard, the only man of the higher order of conspirators who * was in the secrets of the inferior, gave a sanction, by this ungenerous sarcasm †, "That then the Princes would die in their callings." At last Rumbold, who, for the use of his trade, possessed a farm called the Rye-house, between London and Newmarket, pointed out, that, as the road through his farm was narrow, it was easy, by overturning a cart, to stop the coach in which the King and the Duke usually returned from Newmarket to London, and then to fire upon

* Lord Howard's own confession in Sprat's appendix, p. 70.

† Sprat. Burnet.

upon them, embarrassed in the passage, with one party from the hedges, whilst another was encountering the guards. Yet, even amidst the blackness of this project, some sparks of generosity appeared: For, Walcot refused to fire upon the Princes, who would be defenceless; but offered to attack the guards, because they were able to defend themselves; and Rumbold expressed his concern at being under a necessity to discharge the first shot against the innocent postilion. But whilst Rumbold's associates were taking measures to execute this project, the King's house at Newmarket accidentally took fire, which obliged him to return to London sooner than was expected; and the scheme was disappointed. Struck with the accident, they converted it into an omen; and all the arts of Ferguson to wipe off the impression from their minds, could never rouse them again to a similar attempt.

In the mean time, Shaftesbury, the once great parliamentary leader, minister of state, Lord high chancellor of England, and head of the people against the King, fled from his own house, and hid himself in the mean suburb of Wapping; partly for refuge, and partly to be in the middle of the mischiefs he meditated. Yet, anxious from his fears, and trusting the meanest, while he distrusted the greatest of mankind, he concealed his abode from his more generous associates at the other end of the town; and kept up his correspondence with them only by messages, or obscure visits. From his place of concealment, he pressed them to anticipate the time they had appointed for insurrection; remonstrating continually, "That in vain they expected to find
" silence and fidelity among so great a number of con-
" fidents, some of whom, from vanity, were unable to
" conceal;

disappointed
by an
accident.
22. March
1683.

Shaftesbury
hides
himself in
the city;

urges
them to
haste.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

“ conceal; and others, from interest, capable to be-
 “ tray a secret, the discovery of which would be re-
 “ warded so well. No time was needed for considera-
 “ tion: They had only to determine, whether they
 “ should attack their enemies with hopes of success,
 “ or wait till they were prevented by them with a cer-
 “ tainty of ruin. Even although their prospects of
 “ victory were less fair than they seemed, it was better
 “ to perish in taking revenge of their enemies, and in
 “ a struggle for the cause of liberty, than on scaffolds,
 “ where the very forms of justice on the side of their
 “ enemies would make the persons who suffered by
 “ them, appear to fall by the laws, and not to fall with
 “ the laws. The citizens were prepared, impatient,
 “ already half in action; and, if the seat of govern-
 “ ment, and of the King’s residence, was once secured,
 “ the rest of the kingdom would follow its fate. To
 “ the bold, bold attempts were easy; cowards alone
 “ met with difficulties. Those who attacked were
 “ masters of their own designs; they could turn even
 “ accidents to their advantage; but, to men obliged to
 “ defend themselves suddenly, every thing was new,
 “ and every new thing terrible: In despatch, therefore,
 “ they had all things to hope; in delay, all things to
 “ fear.” When he could not prevail by these argu-
 “ ments *, he threatened to run to arms in the city with
 “ his own party, saying, “ That, as his alone should be
 “ the danger, his alone would be the glory;” and ac-
 “ cusing Monmouth of a secret correspondence with his
 “ father; threats and reproaches, which were only want-
 ing

* Sprat, p. 34. and appendix, p. 69. State trials, vol.
 iii. 666.

ing to disappoint the measures of the party, by disconcerting them.

Soon after, intelligence arrived from Mr Trenchard, that the people of 'Iaunton were not in readiness; and he begged a delay, hiding his own fears under those of other men. The Scots too demurred, suspecting the firmness of the English; and insisted, that the Duke of Monmouth, as a pledge of the sincerity of their associates, should be sent down to Scotland to put himself at the head of the insurgents. Scruples, on account of the blood that was to be shed, touched Ruffel; compunctions smote Monmouth, from the dangers to which his father's life might be exposed; and a return was made to an animating message brought by Ferguson from Shaftesbury, that a delay was resolved upon. Unable to bear uncertainty any longer, that veteran chief, on the evening of the day which had been appointed for the insurrection, retired to Holland, where he soon after died, more of rage against his friends than his enemies, and more of either than of disease, in the arms of Walcot and Ferguson *, who only of the many thousands who had sworn to share the same fate with him, adhered to his fortune to the last.

The retreat of Shaftesbury and Ferguson, which at first pleased most of the higher order of conspirators, confounded the conspiracy; because the lines of communication of those two persons in the city were but imperfectly known. The difficulty which this created gave time for reflection. Monmouth heard a surmise, that some of the lower order of conspirators had an intention against the King's life; and that even Lord
been

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Hesitation of the higher order of conspirators.

Conspiracy delayed.

Nov. 19.

1682.

Shaftesbury's flight and death.

Conspiracy renewed.

Meetings called.

* Tooke, vol. ii. p. 253.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Macclesfield, from whose birth better things might have been expected, had proposed to assassinate the Duke *, in order to frighten his brother. Hampden and Russel perceived † that the designs of Sidney were not the same with their own. These persons, therefore, called meetings of the heads of the party, in order to procure an explanation with regard to the principle of the declaration which they were to publish ‡ when the insurrection should take place. At these meetings, it was agreed || to declare, that their arms were only defensive, and to be kept in their hands, not against their Sovereign, but only until a free parliament should be called by him, which, in a constitutional way, and according to ancient precedent, might redress public grievances, and settle the succession. A plan which most of them believed § would soon bring about an accommodation between the King and his people; and which, by reconciling the principles of loyalty and liberty in the breast of Russel, removed some scruples which he had lately entertained. Sidney alone, who was troubled with no scruples, derided the project whilst he yielded to it, saying, “ That people who drew their swords against their Sovereign, should not begin by thinking of a treaty with him.” After this, they proceeded slowly, and with caution; like men who were afraid of hurting their countrymen, even to save their country. They stretched their scheme of insurrection wider and wider ** through the counties of England.

* State trials, vol. ii. p. 29.
p. 69. † Lord Grey, p. 50.
trials, vol. ii. p. 211. Lord Grey, passim.

§ Ibid. p. 69.

** State trials, p. 209.

† Lord Grey,
|| State

England. They sent for Ferguson from Holland, to explain Shaftesbury's connections in the city. They renewed a division of the city similar to that Lord's. And they formed a more intimate communication of measures with the Scots, than they had hitherto done: For, Sidney sent Aaron Smith, one who had been punished for his party, and was therefore the more attached to it, into Scotland; Mr Baillie of Jervieswood, endowed with high virtue and spirit, came from Scotland, and Mr Fletcher of Salton, from Holland, to manage the intercourse between the two countries. * Stuart, a Scots † lawyer, and Carstairs ‡, a Scots clergyman, were the persons who conducted the treaty with Argyle. And a || great number of gentlemen's sons, who had been in foreign services, went into England, under pretence of being pedlars, and spread themselves through the disaffected counties, to be ready when there was occasion for their services. It was resolved to send ten thousand pounds to Argyle in Holland, to enable him to buy arms, sail to Scotland, and put the western Highlanders in motion. In order that all these things might be executed without confusion and with secrecy, six of the conspirators, Monmouth, Russel, Effex, Sidney,

* Letter Mr Chudleigh to Lord Sunderland, Hague, 20th August 1683, in the paper office.

† He was appointed Lord Advocate for Scotland after the Revolution.

‡ He was presbyterian chaplain to King William, secretary to Lord Portland after the Revolution, and greatly trusted by King William in Scots affairs.

|| Sir Leoline Jenkins. Papers in the paper office. Books of privy council, January 10. 1683.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.
Inferior
conspira-
cy disco-
vered.

June.

ney, Hampden, and Howard, agreed to meet together from time to time as exigencies required *.

During all this time, it is amazing, that secrets known to so many, not of the great alone, but also of the meanest of the people, men of the most disorderly passions, and whose passions were rendered still more unguarded through the use of strong liquors, by which their society in party was kept up, should so long lie concealed. At length, in the beginning of June of the year 1683, one Keyling, a salter, who had been so daring as to take into custody the Lord Mayor, in the late disputes concerning the city elections, and who was, on that account, under fear of the more grievous prosecution, gave information to the secretary of state, Sir Leoline Jenkins, of the assassination plot, in which he was himself engaged, using the stale pretence of all informers, that his conscience obliged him to do so. But, as accounts of plots were at that time, by reason of their frequency, little regarded, hardly any attention was paid to him: He, therefore, engaged † his brother to overhear a treasonable conversation between him and Goodenough, and to relate it. In the mean time, some
of

* Hampden, when examined after the Revolution, by the house of Lords concerning the Rye-house plot, said, "He thinks King William's coming into England to be nothing else but the continuation of the council of six." And, in the same examination, he owned and justified the attempt. Vid. Journals House of Lords, 20th December 1689. Compare also Clarendon's diary, May 27. 1689, from which it appears, that Hampden, and even Burnet, at the Revolution, avowed the truth of the conspiracy.

† John Keyling's examination in Lords Journ. Dec. 20. 1689.

of his associates, who had observed him waiting about Whitehall, charged him, at one of their meetings, with having been there. Rumbold prepared instantly to despatch him, but was prevented by the rest, who were moved by his tears and oaths of fidelity. From the meeting he ran directly to the secretary's office, where the sight of the terrors under which he still shook, removed all suspicion of the sincerity of his information. Upon this, some of the lower class of assassins were seized, and rewards published for seizing more. But, as these knew nothing of the cabals of their superiors, and their superiors knew as little of theirs, the great men continued in their houses, oppressed rather with anxiety than with fears.

At last, the blow came from two men, from whose profession it was least to be expected. Colonel Rumsey surrendered himself, and became evidence; Lieutenant Colonel Walcot wrote a letter from his hiding-place to the secretary of state, in which he offered also to make a discovery, and magnified the importance of the plot; an offer which he afterwards retracted, when he heard what Rumsey had done; perceiving the disgrace of his own conduct, when he saw it in that of another. Rumsey gave informations of the meetings at Shepherd's. Shepherd was sent for; when threatened, told all he knew, as might have been expected, and confirmed the evidence of Rumsey.

Lord Ruffel was the first of the great who was ordered to be searched for. He was taken into custody by a messenger who had walked long before his door*; whether from accident, or from the man's desire to let

PART I:
BOOK I.

1683.

Conspiracy discovered.

The great men seized.

VOL. I. F him

* Samuel Johnson's examination in Journals house of Lords, Nov. 19. 1689.

PART I.
Book I.

1683.

him escape, is uncertain. He was found neither preparing for flight, nor hiding himself, but sitting in his study. As soon as he was in custody, he gave up all hopes of life, knowing how obnoxious he was to the Duke of York; and only studied to die with decency and dignity. When brought before the council, he refused to answer to any thing which could affect others: With regard to himself, he confessed some things with candour; and, in denying others, shewed what difficulty a man of strict honour finds, to distinguish between concealing truth and expressing a falsehood *. Lord Grey followed him, but in a manner far different †, denying all he knew with imprecations, and exposing, by his clamours and insolence, that guilt and fear which they were intended to conceal. The vivacity of his spirits, however, supplied him with expedients, by which he made his escape, the same night, from the hands of the messenger. Essex was at his country house, when he heard the fate of his friend, and could have made his escape; but, when pressed to make it by those around him, he answered, "His own life was not worth saving, if, by drawing suspicion upon Lord Russel, it could bring his life into danger." Monmouth had absconded; but, actuated by the same generous motive with Essex, he sent a message to Russel, when he heard he was seized, "That he would surrender himself, and share his fate, if his doing so could be of use to him." Russel answered in these words, "It will be no advantage to me to have my friends die with me."

The

* Sprat, 121. Appendix, 131. Lord Russel's examination is in the paper office, full of interlineations: Even the interlineations are interlined.

† North's examen. p. 381.

The anxiety of Howard, who ran every where, and to every body, denying the truth of the plot, and protesting his innocence, drew suspicion upon him. He was found hid in a chimney, covered with soot; a lurking-hole suited to its inhabitant. He shook, sobbed, and fell a crying. When brought before the King and council, he, for a while, maintained a silence, the effect of stupor, and which was at first mistaken for fortitude. But, when he recovered himself, he desired to speak in private with the King and Duke; and, falling on his knees to them, poured out all he knew. In consequence of his information, Essex, Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, and many others, were seized. Sidney appeared before the council with simplicity of behaviour, discovering neither signs of guilt, nor the affectation of innocence. He refused to answer the questions which were put to him; and told them, if they wanted evidence against him, they must find it from others than himself. Baillie of Jervieswood was offered his life, if he would consent to turn evidence: He smiled, and said, "They who can make such a proposal to me, know neither me nor my country."

Walcot, Rouse, with another of the intended assassins, having been previously tried and condemned, in order, by bringing the assassination immediately before the eyes of the public, to raise the public horror, and afterwards to confound, in that horror, the insurrection with the assassination, Lord Russell was brought next to his trial; the sighs of his country attending him. The King and the Duke, from a curiosity unworthy of their rank, had gone to the Tower, on the morning of his trial, to see him pass. Essex was at that time confined to the same chamber of the Tower from which his father,

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Ruffel's
trial.

ther, Lord Capel, had been led to death, and in which his wife's grandfather, Lord Northumberland, had inflicted a voluntary death upon himself. When he saw his friend carried to what he reckoned certain fate, their common enemies enjoying the spectacle, and reflected *, that it was he who had forced Lord Howard upon the confidence of Ruffel, he retired, and, by a Roman death, put an end to his misery.

When Ruffel came into court, he desired a delay of his trial until next day; because some of his witnesses could not arrive in town before the evening. Sawyer the attorney-general †, with an inhumane repartee, answered, " But you did not intend to have granted the " King the delay of one hour for saving his life;" and refused his consent to the request. Ruffel having asked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence, for his use, might be taken by the hand of another; the attorney-general, in order to prevent him from getting the aid of counsel, told him, he might use the hand of one of his servants in writing, if he pleased ‡. " I ask " none," answered the prisoner, " but that of the " Lady who sits by me." When the spectators at these words turned their eyes, and beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, rising up to assist her Lord in this his uttermost distress, a thrill of anguish ran through the assembly. But when, in his defence, he said ||, " There can be no rebellion *now*, as in former " times, for there are *now* no great men left in Eng- " land," a pang of a different nature was felt by those who

* State trials, vol. ii. p. 135. and Burnet's account in the General Dictionary, voce Ruffel.

† Lord Ruffel's trial.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

who thought for the public. Howard was the chief witness against him. Russel, respecting their common relation, heard him without signs of emotion; though, when the report of Lord Essex's death was brought into court, and being whispered from ear to ear, at last reached his, he had burst into tears. Soon after, Lord Howard, while he pronounced the name of Lord Essex, pretending to cry for his memory, at a time when he was, without concern, bringing death on his surviving friend, made the contrast between genuine and affected passion, virtue and dishonour, complete. The noble house of Howard redeemed the only disgrace that ever was cast upon it: For one of the Duke of Norfolk's family was among the very few, who, in that perilous hour of friendship, gave testimony in favour of the character and deportment of Lord Russel. Jeffreys, in his speech to the jury, turned the untimely fate of Essex into a proof of his consciousness of the conspiracy, in which both friends had been engaged. Pemberton, who owed his first rise in life to the Bedford family, and who now presided as chief justice, behaved to the prisoner with a candour and decorum seldom found in the judges of this reign, or the next. Russel, in the conduct of his defence, did not avow the intended insurrection, lest it might hurt his friends who remained to be tried; nor deny it, lest it should injure his own honour. Hence it was thought by many, that his appearance at his trial did not correspond with the former lustre of his life: But those who knew his situation saw, that he chose to make the small remains of his life rather useful to others, than glorious for himself. The proof against him was not so strong as might have been expected; yet the jury found him guilty. Treby, the recorder,

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

corder, who had been embarked deeply with Lord Shaftesbury in his schemes in the city, was mean enough, instead of throwing up his office, to pronounce sentence of death upon his associate, and even to argue against an arrest of judgment. Yet Russel reproached him not, lest his reproaches might bring mischief upon others. But, when Rich, the sheriff, who had been formerly violent for the exclusion, and had now changed sides, brought him the warrant of death, he felt an inclination to say, "That they two should never vote again in the same way in the same house." Yet, recollecting that Rich might feel pain from the innocent pleasantry, he checked himself.

Russel's
parting
with his
family and
friend.

Lord Russel, during his trial, at his death, and in a more severe test of his fortitude than either, his parting with his wife and infant-children, and with his friend Lord Cavendish, preserved the dignity of his rank and character. With a deep and noble silence; with a long and fixed look, in which respect and affection, unmingled with passion, were expressed, Lord and Lady Russel parted for ever; he great in this last action of his life, but she greater. His eyes followed her's while she quitted the room; and, when he lost sight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he said, "The bitterness of death is now past." The observation was just: For, the fate of the survivor was more hapless, who, though in public she seemed to assume pride from her condition, yet lost her eye-sight by continual weeping in private; and calling often for death, could never find it, until an extreme old age laid her for ever by the partner of her soul*. Lord Cavendish offered

* She died at the age of 87 years. Collins's peerage, vol. i. p. 174.

offered to manage his escape by changing cloaths with him in prison, and continuing at all hazards in his place. He refused, happy that he had equalled, not surpassed, his friend in generosity *.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

Being flattered with hopes of life by some divines, if he would acknowledge to the King, that he believed subjects had, in no case whatever, a right of resistance against the throne, he answered in these words †: “ I can have no conception of a limited monarchy, which has not a right to defend its own limitations: My conscience will not permit me to say otherwise to the King.” Charles, by the advice of the Duke, refused 100,000 pounds, offered by the old Earl of Bedford for his son’s life; an advice which the Duke had afterwards reason to repent, as shall be related in its proper place ‡. Charles felt not for an object far more affecting, the daughter of the virtuous Southampton motionless at his feet. In vain did he often repeat, in speaking of Essex’s death, “ My Lord Essex might have tried my mercy, I owed a life to his family;” alluding to the fate of Essex’s father, who had lost his life

Other anecdotes relating to his last hours.

* Subjects of history-painting are sought for in the histories of Rome and Greece. Many are to be found in our own. What a picture might the parting of Lord Russel with his family and friend make in the hands of a Hamilton?

† I had this circumstance from Lord Littleton. Vid. also Archbishop Tillotson’s examination in the Lords Journals, Dec. 20. 1683.

‡ Lord Bedford’s letter to the King, which, in seeming to make an apology for this offer, seems to renew it, is in the paper office, and is written with great tenderness. See it in the appendix to this book.

PART I.
Book I.

1683.

life on a scaffold for his attachment to the King's father. Men suspected the intention of mercy to the dead, when they saw none shewn to the living. Charles, even at signing the warrant for the death of Lord Ruffel, marked remembrance of former injuries: For, alluding to Ruffel's having been one of those, who, in the heat of party during the prosecution of the popish plot, had disputed the King's prerogative of dispensing with the more ignominious part of the sentence of treason, pronounced against Lord Stafford, he said, " Lord Ruffel shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative, which, in the case of Lord Stafford, he thought fit to deny me." Amidst the dark and mischievous train of policy which France had spread over England during this reign, the tendernefs of the friend, and the generosity of the monarch, upon this occasion, however, shone athwart; for Rouvigny, who had been obliged to the Bedford family for every hospitable civility in England, begged of Lewis the Fourteenth to interpose for the life of Lord Ruffel. Lewis consented, and sent him with a letter to Charles. Barillon informed Charles of it: But that Prince, with a polite inhumanity, answered, " I do not wish to prevent Mr Rouvigny's coming here; But Lord Ruffel's head will be off before he can arrive *." Tendernefs of mind and courage go continually together: The gallant Lord Dartmouth in vain reminded his master of the merits of the deceased Earl of Southampton, and of the hapless age of the innocent Earl of Bedford. The execution was performed not on Towerhill, the common place of execution for men of high rank, but in Lincoln's Inn fields, in order that the citizens might be humbled by the spectacle of their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach to death thro'

a longer space of the streets; a device which, like most others of the kind, produced an effect contrary to what was intended: For, silence and grief attended the procession; and the multitude imagined they beheld virtue and liberty sitting by his side. In passing, he looked towards Southampton-house, where his family was; the tear started into his eye; but he instantly wiped it away. He prayed for the King; but, with a prescience of what afterwards happened, he foretold, "That, although a cloud hung now over the nation, his death would do more service than his life could have done." Honour and friendship followed him beyond the grave: Lord Cavendish joined the hand of his eldest son in marriage to one of the daughters of his deceased friend. We quit anecdotes relating to such illustrious personages with reluctance. Lord Cavendish was in the next reign fined 30,000 pounds, for turning out of the presence-chamber a gentleman who had affronted him. His mother offered to pay the fine, by discharging 60,000 pounds, which the family had advanced to James's father and brother in their greatest extremities*; but her offer was rejected†.

Before

* Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 308.

† It may seem difficult to reconcile Lord Russel's sincerity with some expressions in his last speech, which seem to import a denial of the truth of the conspiracy. It was much believed at the time, that Burnet was the author of some passages of the speech; and a comparison of the speech with one of Lord Russel's letters to the King in the Paper-office, which only denies the assassination, but not the conspiracy, makes it probable that the suspicion was just. Lady Russel indeed, in her letter to the King (printed in the general dictionary), justifies Burnet. But she confesses, she was absent most of the time while her Lord was writing his speech; and Burnet was continually with him.

It may appear ungenerous in the living to throw reflections on the dead. But it is a piece of justice I owe to historical truth, to say, that I have never tried Burnet's facts by the tests of dates, and of original papers, without finding them wrong. For which reason, I

PART I.
BOOK I.1683.
Sidney's
trial.

Before Sidney was brought to his trial, Pemberton was removed from the head of the King's Bench, and * even from the privy-council; and Jeffreys was put in his place, in order, by the fierceness of his temper and manners, to cope with a man, the vigour of whose spirit was known throughout Europe. A jury was selected with care, and composed of men of mean degree, to ensure his condemnation. Sidney was then fifty-nine years of age, his hair white, and his health broken by the fatigues of his youth and the studies of his age. He at first intended to plead guilty, in order to save trouble to himself and to others; but afterwards reflecting, that it was necessary to rouse his countrymen from their indolence, to vindicate the laws, by shewing them how easily these might be abused in their holiest sanctuaries, when parliaments were in disuse, he resolved to stand his trial; to which too perhaps he was incited by that aversion from an obscure death, which is natural to the brave. By the statute of treason, two witnesses were required to convict a man of that crime: But some discourses upon government having been found in Sidney's hand-writing among his papers, Jeffreys declared from the bench to the jury, that these were sufficient in law to supply the want of a second witness, although the papers were totally unconnected with the conspiracy, and contained only sentiments of liberty worthy of Solon or Lycurgus. The outrages against law, through the whole of the trial, throw disgrace upon the judicial records of a country, in which the life of the subject is better protected than in any other upon earth. Sidney collected all the powers of his mind. Not using a regular defence, but, according

have made little use of them in these Memoirs, unless when I found them supported by other authorities. His book is the more reprehensible, because it is full of characters, and most of them are tinged with the colours of his own weaknesses and passions.

* Books of privy council, Oct. 24, 1683.

as passion dictated or memory prompted, he urged, from time to time, every argument which the chicane of the law, or the great rules of reason and justice, suggested to a sound head, and a strong heart. The brutality of Jeffreys he answered in sarcasm decent, but severe, or by silences which were still more poignant. The arrogance of that judge, whilst he gave false colours to the law, Sidney laid open, by questions which admitted of no answer, or by self-evident propositions, of which all who heard could form a judgment. When the court would have persuaded him to make a step in law, which he suspected was meant to hurt him, he said, with perhaps an affected, but with a touching simplicity*, “I desire you will not tempt me, nor make me run on dark and slippery places; I do not see my way.” Sidney, having taken advantage of a circumstance, that only partial passages of the writings which were produced against him were quoted, and even betraying some warmth in defence of the writings themselves, Jeffreys hoped to draw him into an avowal that he was the author. With this view, he handed the papers to Sidney, and desired him to take off the force of the passages by any others in the book. Sidney saw the snare, but pretended not to see it: He turned over the leaves with a seemingly grave attention, and then returning them to the bench, said, “Let the man who wrote these papers reconcile what is contained in them.” After Howard’s deposition was finished, Sidney was asked what questions he had to put to him? He turned from Howard as from an object unworthy to hold converse with, or even to be looked at, and answered with an emphatical brevity, “None to *him!*” But, when he came to make his defence, he raised a storm of indignation and

* State Trials, vol. ii. p. 206.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

contempt against Howard*, who was under great obligations to him, as a wretch abandoned by God and by man, profligate in his character, bankrupt in his fortune, and who owed him a debt which he meant to extinguish by his death. He mentioned, in a cursory way, his having saved Charles's life; but he spoke of it, not as a thing from which he assumed any merit, but only as the common duty of a man.

His behaviour when brought to receive sentence.

The fate of Lord Russel had been determined in two days: But Sidney, more obstinate, prolonged his fate in court during three weeks. Even when brought up to receive sentence of death, he repeated and insisted upon almost every plea which had been over-ruled. During the whole of his trial, he had the art, by drawing down unjust repulses upon himself, to make the odium of his crime be forgot in that which he raised against his judges and his prosecutors. Withens, one of the judges, gave him the lie; he seemed to disregard it, as an injury done to himself only: But when Jeffreys interrupted him, whilst he was opening a plea, he took advantage of it, as an injury done to justice; and cried out, "Then, I appeal to God and the world, I am not heard:" After which he refused to defend himself any longer. When sentence was passed upon him, he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city through which I am to be carried to death. Let no inquisition be made for it: But, if any shall be made, and the shedding of innocent blood must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those who maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake." Jeffreys, starting from his seat, called out, that the prisoner's reason

* Burnet,

was affected. But Sidney calmly stretched out his arm, and desired Jeffreys to feel “if his pulse did not beat at its ordinary rate.” Instead of applying for mercy to the throne, he demanded only justice: For he set forth, in a petition to the King*, the injuries which had been done to the laws in his person; and, as an equal, desired to be carried to the royal presence, that he might, there, have an opportunity of shewing the King how much his own interest and honour were concerned, in giving that redress which his judges had refused. That simplicity of behaviour with which he had behaved at the council board, he converted into an air of grandeur at his death before the people. He went on foot with a firm step†; he asked no friend to attend him; and, only for decency, borrowed two of his brother’s footmen to walk behind him. He ascended the scaffold with the look, and step, and erect posture, of one who came to harangue or to command, not to suffer; pleased to exhibit a pattern of imitation to his countrymen, and to teach them, that death was painful only to cowards and to the guilty. Englishmen wept not for him, as they had done for Lord Russell. Their pulses beat high, their hearts swelled, they felt an unusual grandeur and elevation of mind, whilst they looked upon him. He told the sheriffs who had returned a packed jury against him, “It was for their sakes, and not for his own, he reminded them, that his blood lay upon their heads.” When he was asked, if he had any thing to say to the people; he answered, “I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to say to man.” In a moment after, he said, “I am ready to die, and will give you no farther trouble.” And then hastened to the

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.
Anecdotes
of his last
hours.

* The petition, which is exceedingly manly, is in the Paper-office.

† Account of his death sent to the King, in the Paper-office.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

block, as if indignant of life, and impatient to die*. These were the only words he spoke in public, upon account of the meanness, and still more of the affectation, of a speech on a scaffold. But he left his last thoughts behind him in writing with his friends; because these, he knew, would remain: Thoughts which government was at pains to suppress, and which, for that reason, were more greedily demanded by the people. The paper was calculated to keep the spirit of liberty alive, when he, who was accustomed to give it life, was laid in the dust. Instead of bestowing that pardon upon his enemies, which, in most dying men, arises from the consciousness of their needing forgiveness themselves, he treated them as if he had been immortal. He confuted the testimonies on which he had been condemned, without asserting his own innocence of the charge; he said, that, to reach him, the bench had been filled with men who were the blemishes of the bar; and he regretted death chiefly, because it had been inflicted by mean hands; striking thus at the witnesses, the judges, and the jury, all together. His own wrongs, in the course of his trial, he mingled with his country's; and he laid down the great and generous principles of political society, which, a few years afterwards, were made the foundations of the revolution. Instead of praying for the King, he prayed for his country. Instead of drawing a veil over the cause for which he suffered, he addressed his Maker as engaged in it with himself. "Bless thy people," concluded he, "and save them: Defend thy own cause, and defend those who defend it. Stir up such as are faint; direct those who are willing; confirm those who are wavering. Grant, that, in my last moments, I may thank thee for permitting me to

* Account of his death sent to the King, in the Paper-office.

“ die for that good old cause, in which, from my youth, “ I have been engaged.” Falling, the geniuses of Greece and of Rome received him in their arms.

PART I.
BOOK I.
1683.

The unpopularity which Sidney's trial brought upon government, probably saved the life of Hampden. As Howard* was the only witness against him, he was tried only for a misdemeanor, but fined 40,000*l*. Armstrong, after escaping, had been outlawed; but, before the expiration of the year allowed by law for a surrender, he had been seized abroad, and sent over to England. Holloway, one of the subordinate conspirators, was in the same situation. But that trial which was granted to Holloway, because there was sufficient evidence against him, was refused to Armstrong, because there was not †. The pretence made use of by Jeffreys for refusing a trial to Armstrong, was, that his appearance in court by compulsion was not equivalent to a voluntary surrender: A pretence which was equally good against both, or against neither. Armstrong desired to be heard by counsel upon the plea of his right to a trial: Even this request was refused: And, when he said, that he asked only the common benefit of the law, Jeffreys answered, “ You shall have that indeed: By the grace of God, “ you shall be executed upon Friday next: You shall “ have the full benefit of the law †.” He was conducted to death by those guards whom he had once commanded.

Other
trials and
punish-
ments.

* Howard's credit was lost from his manner of haranguing in giving his evidence. Vid. State Trials. In order to refresh his memory, a copy of his original informations had been given him. In the Paper-office, I find a note in the hand-writing of Mr. Blaithwaite in these words: “ 10th August, 1683, Copies of Lord How- “ ard's narratives to be given him.”

† Vid. the Duke of York's letter to the Prince of Orange of April 15, 1684, in the Appendix to this book.

‡ Armstrong's trial, and Lords Journals, 20 December 1689.

Bailie

PART I.
BOOK I.1683.
Punish-
ments in
Scotland.

Bailie was sent to Scotland, where, contrary to the laws of that country, written depositions were read to the jury in court, which had been partly extorted by torture out of court, and partly transmitted from the record of the state trials in England. Being * broken with infirmities, he was executed the same day † he was condemned, lest a natural death should have disappointed a public execution. Several others were put to death in Scotland: But most of the conspirators fled to Holland, and, at the revolution, returned with the Prince of Orange: Of those who fled, the most eminent were Lord Melville, Lord Loudon, and Sir Patrick Hume, created, after the revolution, Earl of Marchmont. The constancy with which the great had died, communicated itself to men in inferior stations: Spence, the Earl of Argyle's secretary, and Carstairs, who had been seized in England, were sent to Scotland to be tortured ‡. Spence endured the torture twice, and Carstairs for a complete hour; but neither would confess, until terms were made with them, that they should not be obliged to become evidences. A shocking instance of cruelty § was, upon this occasion, exhibited in the Scottish privy-council. Mr. Gordon of Earlstone, a man of family and fortune, was condemned to die: Information was given to the privy-council, that he had been intrusted with secrets of great importance: The council wrote to the Scotch secretary of state at London, to know if they might put a person to the torture, who was under sentence of death. The Lord Advocate for Scotland gave his opinion, that he might be tortured: And the King

* Records of Scottish privy-council, 8th April 1684.

† Gazette, Jan. 5, 1684.

‡ Record Scottish privy-council, July 6, August 7, September 5, 1684.

§ Ibid. August 21, September 23, November 23, 1683.

gave orders that he should : He was brought before the privy-council, and the engines produced : But horror drove him into instant madness. Worse tortures were prepared for Ferguson, if he could have been found : It was known that he had fled to Edinburgh : The gates of the city were shut, and the strictest search made for him. But, under pretence of a visit to a prisoner, he took refuge in the gaol destined for his reception, because he knew that there only no body would expect to find him *.

PART I.
BOOK I.
1683.

Amidst a struggle between the feelings of the monarch, and of the father, in Charles, and between the duties of a son, and the respects of honour, in Monmouth, to his suffering friends, Monmouth surrendered himself; confessed in private to the King and Duke, the truth of the insurrection, discovering that it was much wider and more dangerous than is mentioned in any printed relation; received his pardon; but, when an account of these things was put into the Gazette, denied in public that he had made any confession at all †. He was then called by the King to sign a declaration ‡, acknowledging the truth of the insurrection; he signed the paper, but in-

Fluctuation of mind in the King and Monmouth.

* This adventure of Ferguson I take from a report common in Scotland. Common reports are very often confirmed by authentic documents. I find an order to search for him in Edinburgh in the Scotch records of privy-council, 4th July 1683.

† The examination of Dr. Chamberlain, a man of honour, and the particular friend of the Duke of Monmouth, is in the Paper-office. Monmouth complained to him of the Gazette, at the same time that he owned the truth of the conspiracy.

‡ In the Paper-office, there are two copies of the paper which it was intended Monmouth should sign; the one is in Sir Leoline Jenkins's hand, and bears very hard on Monmouth. The other is in the King's hand, and is much more delicate.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683:

mediately recalled it*, when he recollected the use to which it might be turned against his friends. Upon this account, he was banished the court, and retired abroad. Monmouth's surrender and confession arose from a refinement of Lord Halifax †, in whom he confided, and who wished to keep him at court, in order to balance that ascendancy in Charles's councils, which he foresaw the Duke of York would assume, upon the suppression of all opposition to his brother: A scheme which, like most other refinements, failed in the execution. Monmouth fixed a second time his residence in Holland, where he was received with kindness and respect ‡, and treated even with an affectation of familiarity by the Prince and Princess of Orange; partly with a view in that Prince to ingratiate himself with the whig-party in England, and partly because he knew that Charles's secret fondness still belied his outward resentment against his son. From this period, the court of the Prince of Orange became a place of refuge for every person who had either opposed the Duke of York's succession, or appeared to be attached to the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York wrote to his daughter the Princess of Orange, complaining of the attentions shewn to Monmouth; but in vain. Most of those who had followed Monmouth's fortunes, or who desired to do so, were soon after provided for by the Prince, in the British regiments which were in the service of the Dutch; circumstances which were only wanting to alienate for ever the affections of the two royal brothers from the Prince. They even believed, that he had given encouragement to

* Examination of Colonel Godfrey and Anthony Rowe, in the Lords journals, December 28, 1689.

† Mr. Hampden's examination, in Lords journals, December 1689.

‡ D'Avaux,

that part of the conspiracy in which the great men had been engaged; and they refused a visit to justify himself, which he offered*.

PART II.
BOOK I.

1683.

Attempts unsuccessfully made against government always confirm that authority which they were meant to control. Amidst these trials and executions, and others of less note, the kingdom seemed to ring with joy, and the churches to be filled with devotion; those who were suspected of connections with the conspirators expressing, beyond all others, their abhorrence of the conspiracy. The rejoicings for the marriage of the Duke's daughter with Prince George of Denmark, which happened during the executions, added to the appearance of the general transport. Addresses were presented from every quarter of the kingdom, expressing not only loyalty, but an entire surrender of the independence of the subject; addresses in which many concurred from sincerity, others in order to conceal the want of it, and which none dared to oppose. The university of Oxford, from whose knowledge of ancient literature better things might have been expected, passed their famous decree, which carried the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to a height of folly. The court, the pulpit, the bench, the bar, all adopted in public the same principles: Had outward appearances given a true picture of the nation, every honour of English liberty was laid at the foot of the throne.

Excess in
national
expressions
of loyalty,

In the mean time the differences of Charles with his subjects and his family, increased his dependance upon France; so that during the rest of his reign England was little more than a province of that kingdom. When the Lady Anne's marriage was projected with the Prince of Denmark, Charles and the Duke of York previously

Mean de-
pendance
of Charles
upon
France.

* Appendix to this Book.

* H 2

consulted

PART I.
BOOK I.

1683.

consulted the French King about it, assuring him that they would not proceed if it was disagreeable to him: Lord Sunderland, to pay his court, proposed that she should rather be given in marriage to the Prince of Rhodé sur Yon, in order to tie Louis and the royal family faster together. When Lord Danby was released from the Tower, Barillon complained of it, as of an injury of which his master was entitled to complain, and was hardly appeased, when the Duke of York pointed out to him in excuse the contempt of parliament, which was implied in admitting a person to bail who had been imprisoned by parliament*. In the year 1684 Louis even discontinued the last term of the subsidy, which was due to Charles by the private treaty of the year 1681; either deeming his friendship of no use to him any longer, or that a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange was become impossible†.

Great
power of
the King
and Duke.
1684.

After the defeat of the exclusion, the banishment of Monmouth, the humiliation of the whigs, and the exaltation of the tories, all eyes were turned to the Duke of York, in whose cause so many victories had been obtained. The whigs opposed not his influence, lest they might provoke it to fall upon themselves: The tories naturally supported it, because they had a claim to his gratitude. And, in the attentions which both paid to the Duke, the King was over-shadowed. Oates, the informer of the popish plot, was condemned to pay a hundred thousand pounds for injurious words spoken against the Duke; people forgetting in the wiliness of the man, that the punishment was contrary to the clause of the great charter, which provided that no man should be fined to his utter ruin. A similar sentence for the

* Vid. Appendix to this Book.

† Vid. Appendix to next Book.

same crime was pronounced against Mr. Dutton, a man of character, and who had been a member of the late parliaments. Some private letters of Sir Samuel Bernardston, which reflected upon government, were intercepted at the post-house; and for these he was fined 10,000*l*. As he had been foreman of the jury which acquitted Shaftesbury, his former, more than his recent fault, was thought to have drawn this punishment upon him. Men became afraid to indulge their own thoughts, when they found that their conversations in company, and the secrets of their private correspondence, were turned into instruments of their ruin: And a high-spirited nation was irritated by the frequency of punishments, which individuals could neither bear to be inflicted upon themselves, nor to see inflicted upon others. Jeffreys, in his law circuits through England, gleaned up many of the charters of boroughs which had not been hitherto surrendered. When most of them were in the hands of the crown, Charles published a declaration, in which he thanked his subjects for the trust they had reposed in him; and promised not to abuse it: Thanks and promises, which were received as mere forms, by the wise, and, to the brave, appeared to be insults. Every thing now marked to the nation, the neglect into which the regulations of parliament were fallen: The Duke, notwithstanding the test-act, resumed his office of Lord high Admiral: In contempt of the House of Commons, prosecutions were directed against Williams, the speaker of the two late Houses, for warrants which he had issued by orders of the House: The popish Lords, who had been committed to the Tower by warrant of the House of Peers, were admitted to bail: The three years elapsed, when, by the second triennial act, a new parliament should have been called; but the act was disregarded. All these things were imputed, justly or unjustly,

PART I.
BOOK I.

1684.

Project for
a popish
army in
Ireland.

unjustly, to the influence of the Duke. And a saying of the famous Waller was repeated, "That, since the parliament would not allow the Duke to assume the crown after the King's death, the King was resolved he should reign during the King's life."

Charles, by advice of his brother, took advantage of the present submission to his will, to form a project, which, had it not been interrupted by the revolution, must have destroyed for ever the liberties of Britain. The Duke of Ormond kept a regular army in Ireland of 10,000 men, and a militia of 20,000, both supported by the revenues of that kingdom, and commanded by protestant officers. The experience of many centuries in England had discovered, that all the humiliations of the crown had arisen from the want of a mercenary army attached solely to itself. It was therefore now resolved, to new-model the Irish army, and to place popish in the room of the protestant officers, in order to rear up a military power, which might be attached to the King by the ties of a military dependence, and to his brother by those of a common religion. The Duke of Ormond was recalled from Ireland: Lord Rochester was appointed to succeed him. But, in order to disappoint the zeal which Rochester was known to entertain for the church of England, Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, a man who loved bold ends, even for the sake of their boldness, not scrupulous about means, and a Roman Catholic, was intended to act as general, with absolute and independent power over the army. Yet, hesitating and fearful, and perhaps from respect to Ormond and Rochester ashamed to open their plan, the King and the Duke only wrote to Ormond, that alterations were to be made in many departments of government in Ireland, which made it necessary for him to quit it; and informed Rochester, that the nomination of military officers

officers was to be no longer any part of the duty of a Lord Lieutenant*.

PART I.
BOOK I.

The Duke of York, who acted continually by system, advised his brother to strengthen himself also in Scotland; and the modelling of that country was committed by Charles to his care. It was one of the Duke's favourite opinions, that the Highlanders were the best resources of the kingdom, both against rebellion within, and invasion from without: He therefore contrived different plans for embodying them, and keeping up their martial spirit †; and, by civilities and favours to their chieftains, rivetted many of them to himself by an attachment which ended only with his life. He also dismissed all men who were suspected of whig principles from the offices into which many of them had been admitted at the end of Lauderdale's administration; and placed the keenest Tories he could find in their stead ‡.

1684.
Scotland
modelled.

Amidst these measures and projects, Charles was unhappy: His usual gaiety forsook him: Rudeness to persons around him succeeded to the manners of the best bred man in Europe. The reflection that he had no child to succeed him; the court which, even during his life, he saw paid to his successor; the absence of his favourite son, whom, with all his errors, he still loved, tormented him. His knowledge of the Duke's character and intentions, with the consequences which he foresaw from them, added fears for the future to his present anxiety. After some difference in sentiment between them,

Charles
unhappy.

* The correspondence upon this project is subjoined to Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, and is curious. Vid. also Appendix to this Book.

† Records of Scottish privy-council.

‡ The commission which altered the privy-council is in the records of the Scottish privy-council, 5th July 1684. Charles uses this expression in it, "That he had removed those who were lukewarm."

he

PART I.
BOOK I.

1684.

he was one day overheard to say, "I am too old to go
" to my travels a second time; brother, you may, if
" you will."

The Duke having at another time advised him against frequenting public diversions so much as he did, on account of the danger to which his life was exposed at them, he answered with a malignant pleasantry, "Pooh, brother, do you think any body will kill me, to make way for you *?" He was in miserable straits too for money, brought upon him by the carelessness and profligacy of all around him, of which himself had first set the example †: But, above all, he was hurt by a discovery which he made towards the end of his reign, that Louis the XIVth, in whose cause he had drawn so many misfortunes upon himself, had been intriguing with his subjects against him, and had even lately, upon a false surmise of his intending to call a parliament, formed a design to publish the secret treaty of Dover, in order to make him for ever detestable in the eyes of his subjects, and of the protestant part of Europe ‡.

Perhaps too, the remembrance of the popularity of his younger days, contrasted with the situation in which he at present stood with regard to a great part of his people, might recur upon his mind. He endeavoured to lose all reflection among his women; a habit which only increased his gloom, because it added the uneasiness which arises from idleness to that which already tormented him.

Intrigues
of Sun-
derland.

In this state of the King's mind, Sunderland took advantage of the Dutcheß of Portsmouth's fondness for her lover. He persuaded her that the retreat of the Duke of York into Scotland, whose unpopularity in-

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript.

† Appendix to this Book.

‡ Ibid.

jured his brother, and the bringing back into the King's presence a son whom he loved, were the only means to restore him to his usual tranquillity of mind. Charles received the last part of the proposal with pleasure; because he had secretly corresponded with Monmouth through means of Lord Halifax: And he assented to his brother's removal, because the Dutchess of Portsmouth, who had always maintained connections with the whig party, flattered him, that such a measure would reconcile that party to his government, without injuring the rights of his successor. Sunderland grafted on these changes a project of bringing about a reconciliation between Charles and the Prince of Orange, which was managed by the Duke of Monmouth in Holland; and the Prince, another for detaching Charles from his connections with France, which was conducted by Halifax in England*. Whilst these things were in agitation, Monmouth came over, and was admitted † privately to an interview by his father. Charles was taking measures to recall his son, and to send his brother to Scotland, when, by a sudden apoplexy, his intentions were prevented. He recovered: But after an intermission of two days, a second fit carried him off ‡. The last action of his life was to reconcile himself to the church of Rome||. Suspicions instantly ran, that he was poisoned by the popish party, but without any appearance of truth, and merely on account of the critical time of his death, and

* Carte. D'Avaux. Duke of Monmouth's memorandum in Welwood.

† Burnet. Carte. Vid. also the Duke of York's letter to the Prince of Orange of December 2, 1684, in Appendix to this Book.

‡ Declaration of physicians in the books of privy council, Feb. 3, 4.

|| Father Huddleston's account of the King's last hours proves that he was not reconciled to the church of Rome until that period. Vid. also a very particular account of his death by Barillon in Appendix.

PART I.
BOOK I.

1684.

because it was the interest of that party, that the throne should be filled by a Prince who professed their religion. The death of Charles was regretted more on account of the hatred which many bore to his successor, than of the love entertained for himself.

The same contradiction of report which has thrown obscurity on most of the actions of this Prince's life, attended the last moments of it. For while some reported *, that in answer to a message from the Queen, who begged his forgiveness before he died in whatever she had offended him, he said, "Alas, poor lady! she never offended me: I have too often injured her." Others believed, that forgetful of his people and family, his last words were spent in recommending Nell Gwyn, the play-actress, to his brother's protection †.

Perhaps a review of this agreeable and able, but inglorious Prince's conduct, may show Princes and private persons alike the truth of a proverb commonly in the mouths of the vulgar, but which should be engraved in the hearts of all, "That honesty is always the best policy."

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript.

† Burnet.

A P P E N D I X

TO

PART I. BOOK I.

UPON the dissolution of King Charles's last parliament, and his appeal to the people, which were considered as total breaches between him and parliaments, the Prince of Orange came over to England; but he previously sent Mr. Sidney to ask the advice of Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin about his coming. Their answers are in King William's cabinet.

Sir William Temple to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's asking his advice about a visit to King Charles.

Sheen, June 28, 1681.

I DID not think to have met with any thing likely to engage me in any further public thoughts for the rest of my life, after my last return to my own domestic here, nor could any thing else have done it for so much as an hour, but an absolute command Mr. Sidney brought me from your Highness upon his arrival here, He tells me, some few days before he came away, you fell into some thoughts whether a journey at this time to our court might contribute any thing towards the redress of that ill posture wherein the public affairs of Christendom seem to be at present, and which your Highness apprehends will soon grow more desperate; and whether it may not be necessary to prevent the effects of some ill offices which you think have lately been done between

his Majesty and your Highness; and that upon this point you are pleased to desire my opinion, and that I will write it to you myself. I must tell your Highness in the first place, that since I came down hither about the time I left the council, which is near six months ago, I have never been once at court, and but once in town, upon a domestic occasion, and that my conversation here has gone no further than my own house, or some few common visits of the neighbourhood, by which your Highness will easily guess how ill I can judge of a matter that depends upon the disposition of a court, which has been apt to many changes in a shorter time than I have been absent from it, though perhaps they may be deceived who in that very point shall take a measure of what is to come by what is past. Besides, whatever opinion I shall be of, I cannot at this distance give your Highness my reasons for it, which must make it look very lame, perhaps, how well soever it may be grounded. Yet after this, and much more which might serve to excuse me, since Mr. Sidney says you will absolutely have my opinion upon it, I will tell your Highness freely, I am not apt to believe you will find at this time what you may propose to yourself by a journey into England, nor that any discourses between his Majesty and your Highness are likely to end in any mutual satisfaction or agreement upon the present state of public affairs. And those considerations will, I doubt, have an influence upon personal dispositions between you. So that all I think can be proposed from your meeting is, to know more certainly what you are to expect or trust to from one another, in the course of future events and revolutions.

If your Highness thinks the knowledge of this, or a trial of the other, be worth your journey, you may I think make some judgment of the success by resolving to
make

make it a thing of personal confidence between his Majesty and your Highness only. You may write to him in a private letter, how sensible you are of several ill offices that you believe have been done you towards his Majesty; how desirous you are to justify yourself, and preserve his kindness and good opinion; and that you can think of no way towards it, without seeing him, and having at least some few hours discourse in private with him. That though you can be ill spared in Holland, and have but little time, yet you will not fail to attend him, if he gives you leave, though it be but for an hour: But in case he does, you will owe it wholly to his kindness, and beg it may be without communicating it to any person about him: That to this end you have ordered Mr. Sidney to deliver him your letter privately, and to beg his answer upon it: That in case he approve it, he may please to dispatch Mr. Sidney over in a yacht, as if it were upon the affair of the troops, and you will come away immediately in it, and hope it may be for his Majesty's satisfaction as well as your own.

I confess I am of opinion that if it be done or attempted at this time, it should be this way and no other. And whether it succeed or no, that your Highness may in a great measure judge from his Majesty's answer, what issue you were to have expected from it. From this place your Highness can expect nothing else besides this bare discharge of your commands, and the constant wishes and prayers for your safety and health, and the increase of your honour and your family, wherein no man can be concerned, with a more hearty devotion and truth, than your Highness's most obedient, and most faithful humble servant.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange—upon the same subject.

London, June 28, 1681.

MR. Sidney has told me that your Highness does me still the honour to preserve me in your good opinion, and are so just as to believe me as full of zeal for your service, and as much devoted to your interests, as truly and sincerely from my heart I am, and I hope always shall continue to be; but I am not very good at compliments and great expressions, and if I am not deceived your Highness cares as little to be troubled with them; Mr. Sidney has told me farther that your Highness had spoken to him of a thought you have lately had, that it might be of good use for you to come over into England at this time, and had given him leave to acquaint me with it and to know my opinion of it: I confess I was very well pleased to hear him say it was your Highness's own thought, and that you seem'd to have an inclination to it; for my part I have wish'd for it a great while, and I think it more necessary now than ever, for I am satisfied there is nothing that can so infallibly restore that good understanding between the King and your Highness which is so necessary for you both, and which every day (to my great trouble) I see more and more likely to decline, and I am afraid will be quite lost at last, if your Highness will not please to make use of all your prudence, and all your temper (and perhaps some of your address too), to prevent this misfortune. Thus far Mr. Sidney and I were of a mind. We agreed that it must needs be well for your Highness to come over at this time, but we differed a little upon the pretext you were to take for it; he seem'd to think it would be best for your Highness to ask the King's leave
that

that you might come over to wait upon him, as a visit of compliment only, without pretending any business at all, which at another time might perhaps be the best way: But at this time, considering how things stand between the King and your Highness, the difficulties that have risen about Mr. Skelton's going into Holland, and Mr. Sidney's commanding the troops there, I was of opinion that it would look a great deal better, and I thought be more agreeable to your inclinations, to speak out plainly upon this occasion, and to write to the King that you found yourself so much troubled and concerned for the dissatisfaction which his Majesty seemed to have at your proceedings in the business of Mr. Skelton, and so apprehensive lest any other occasion might happen to increase it, that you could have no satisfaction in your own mind till you had begg'd his Majesty's leave to come and wait upon him, and endeavour to set yourself right in his good opinion; and if your Highness would please to add to this, such assurances of your zeal for the King's service and his greatness as you shall think fit; of your desire to be acquainted with the measures he proposes to take, that you might be able to assist him in them as far as lies in your power; and of your desire likewise to establish a good correspondence with those whom the King is pleased to trust and employ in his business; upon these advances to the King I am persuaded your Highness might come over hither with great advantage; and the countenance and the kindness which the King will shew you, finding you in this temper, join'd to the love and esteem and the natural inclination which people have for you here, would presently give your Highness such an influence upon every body (even the ministers themselves) that you would be able to give what turn you pleased to most of our affairs here that are of the greatest importance: At least this is my opinion of the matter, which
if

if I have given too bluntly or imperfectly to your Highness, I do most humbly beg your pardon for it. I should not have presumed to do it all, but that Mr. Sidney made me understand it was your Highness's express pleasure and command, which shall always be most readily obeyed by me with the greatest respect and duty imaginable.

This visit gave an alarm to the Duke of York in Scotland, who suspected it might have created a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange at his expence. In the Depot at Versailles, there is the following letter from him to Monsieur Barillon on this subject.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, without date, 1681; received 26 July with Mr. Barillon's dispatches.—His joy at the late secret treaty.—His uneasiness on account of the Prince of Orange's coming to England.

YOU will easily believe it was with a great deal of satisfaction I learnt that affairs are so happily concluded between the two Kings; I hope there will be no misunderstanding for the future. You may be assured, I shall always think it my duty to prevent its happening; and that their friends and mine will be of the same opinion.

I was much surprised to learn that the Prince of Orange was upon the eve of his departure for London; I knew nothing of it, till by the last post I received a letter from the King of England, which orders me not to take any umbrage at this journey, because the Prince of Orange shall not oblige him to change the measures he has taken.

I have wrote to him afresh on this subject, as I thought convenient for my interest, and in the manner you could wish: I have also advised my friends to be alert; so I hope this journey will not occasion any prejudice to us. Be persuaded that I will always do my duty for your master's service.

The French court were equally uneasy at this journey,

July 21, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had made an apology to him for consenting to the Prince of Orange's visit; adding, that the French court should see it would make no difference upon the measures he had taken.

On July 24, Barillon writes, that having expressed his fears to the King about this visit, Charles, among other things said,—“ I entreat you to be my pledge with the King my brother, and to answer for me that I will not enter into any thing which can displease him; it being always understood, that he is not to attack the Low Countries; you know that that is the foundation of our union.”

Barillon writes August 11, 1681, that the Prince of Orange had pressed the King for a parliament, and that the King and he were on bad terms.

August 25, 1681, he writes that the Prince of Orange was often locked up with Lord Russel and Sir William Jones, that he was much in public, and was become very popular by his journey.

September 25, 1681, he writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had pressed her to help on the exclusion.

October 1, 1681, he writes, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had in vain solicited the King for an union of England and Holland against France.

November 19, there is in the Depot, a letter from the Duke of York from Scotland to Barillon, entreating him to prevent the King from calling a parliament.

The Prince of Orange's visit could not fail to be unsuccessful, not only on account of Charles's connections with France, but on account of private piques between the King and the Prince. The following letter from Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince, will best explain these.

Letter Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince of Orange.—State of King Charles's court.—Piques between the King and Prince.

London, June 28, 1681.

I WRIT to your Highness by the last post, but had so little time to do it in, that I doubt I gave you but an imperfect account of our affairs; I shall now say something more to your Highness, and will begin with what concerns yourself. It is very plain, that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is most against him; that you have a constant correspondence with those (they call) his enemies; that you drive a contrary interest; in short, I believe there are some in the cabinet council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of that opinion; they answered, that they could
not

not imagine there was such a villain and such a fool too amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe. I am apt to believe that these two Lords are not so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially my Lord Halifax; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said, you were the only foundation one could build upon: That what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him, I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your Highness considerable service if he would; upon which he solemnly promised he would do his best. I then informed him how matters had passed between your Highness and this court within these six months, and left him to judge whether you had reason to be satisfied or no, especially in their last proceedings about Mr. Skelton: He said, as to that matter, all was resolved of before he came to town. I answered, all was not yet concluded, and if he had any respect for you, he would do well to show it; he answered me, he would try what could be done.—He and my Lord Hyde do both complain of your letters being too high and too sharp, and say that if you had writ in a more gentle stile, it would have had a better effect with the King. I told them that I thought your Highness was not much to be wondered at, for taking that business of Mr. Skelton's and several others, something to heart, and if they would speak sincerely, I was sure they would be of my mind. These Lords say, that I am very likely to contribute a great deal towards a breach between the King and the Prince: I told them I had rather be hanged. Their reason is, that the King is resolved never to give his consent to my having the com-

mand of the troops; that if your Highness and I did persist in it, his Majesty would take it ill of your Highness, and never be kind or reconciled to me. As to the first, I told him, the King could not be so unjust as to be angry with your Highness for giving me an employment, when you thought I was in his favour, and being you had given it me, you could not well take it away without my doing something to deserve it, which as yet your Highness was ignorant of. As to myself, I had little reason to expect much kindness from the King, being changed as he was in nine months time, without having any reason for it; that in September last, his Majesty told me he had rather have me at the head of the troops than any man in England; and many other things he promised towards the advancement of my fortune, which he hath not observed, but hath done much the contrary, and nobody hath yet told me how I have deserved it: I added, that I had spent a great deal of money and time in his service; had ventured my life as often as most people had done for him, and now was very ill requited; therefore I hoped his Majesty would not be displeased at my keeping an employment that was an honour to me, and would be a subsistence, being he did not think of doing any thing for me himself. This and a great deal more I told them I would say to the King, when he would do me the honour to speak with me, which he hath not done yet, and I imagine he stays till he hath an answer of his last letter to your Highness, for they think that will prevail much upon you. I shall be guided and governed in this and in every thing by your Highness, as long as I am upon earth, therefore pray let me have your commands. The King and his ministers seem to be very kind to me, I doubt it is not real; but they hope by fair words to persuade me to lay myself, and all that I have at the King's feet, which I
confess

confess I have no mind to do. I hope your Highness's kindness to me will never be prejudicial to you, for that would be an eternal affliction to me; hitherto I know it hath not, for though the King and his ministers are a little angry for the present, yet I can assure you it hath done you no harm in the nation, but a good deal the contrary; and the King's sending Mr. Skelton, and your opposing him, hath done the King more hurt, and your Highness more good, than any thing that happened these twelve months.

I will now make your Highness a short description of our court, and of the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the King; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day: They make him believe by their addresses that his affairs in the kingdom are in a very good posture; which is all wrong, for now I understand them, I find they signify nothing, and they grow every day more and more ridiculous; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is highly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the court (for he hath not a friend any where else), and therefore he is obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination; my Lord Hyde is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent, despairs of being well with the King, if he be well with his people; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counsels to make the breach irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out. All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who I am confident are as much
yours

yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion that your coming over will be of great advantage to you;—they differ something in the manner, but we all agree that there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it can do you any harm; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax I believe would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming over might be of use. I took no notice of it, and it quickly passed over; it may be he will never think more of it; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against it if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people. My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body, Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in. It was all about the town that the King would not see me, and was resolved to break the troops if I had the command of them. Mr. Seymour says, By God the King must break them, and the Prince of Orange must not gain his point; my Lord Hide says no such thing, for he knows the King cannot do it, but he endeavours still to persuade me to submit to the King; tells me I shall have great matters done for me; that it will be unpleasant to me to have this command against the King's consent, and what is most to be considered,

it

it will be prejudicial to your Highness. I cannot make any certain judgment of this affair till the King hath spoke to me, which I think he does not know how to do; I have been perpetually at his elbow expecting what he would say, but he cannot bring it out; I fancy it goes against his nature to say he was very kind to me last year, but hath changed his mind, he does not know why.

One of the views of the Prince of Orange's journey was to bring the King to join in an association with the Dutch, the Emperor, Spain, and many German Princes, to stop the farther encroachments of France. After the Prince was gone, Vanbeuningen the Dutch, and Ronquillo the Spanish ambassadors renewed the proposal to King Charles. Barillon writes, Nov. 13, 1681, that Charles was to concert with him the answer he should give them.

The following dispatch will show what that answer was, as well as the crooked ways of Charles's politics,

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth,
—Charles's deceiving answer to a proposal for an association to stop the further encroachments of France.—In the Depot.*

November 15, 1681.

I HAVE had a long conference with my Lord Hyde upon the terms in which his Britannic Majesty's answer to Vanbeuning should be conceived. He told me, that though the King of England did not enter into the league, he could not avoid explaining himself as if he intended it hereafter; and for this reason he thought himself

self obliged to answer, that when the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the principal Princes of the empire shall have entered into the league of association, he will be ready also on his part to enter into it. I insisted that instead of the principal Princes of the empire, they should substitute that when the Emperor and the empire jointly shall have entered into the league, the King of England would be also disposed to do the same thing.

My Lord Hyde answered, that the King his master's intention being always the same with regard to your Majesty, and he not willing in any manner to enter into the league, nor to assemble his parliament as Vanbeuning desired, it was necessary to make choice of terms which did not clearly shew how far he was from listening to such proposals, and that what he said left him at liberty to act as he pleased."

In the above letter of the 13th of November, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had avowed to him, that he had promised to Spain to call a parliament, and give them assistance, but that he intended neither.

And in another letter of the 22d of December, 1681, Barillon says, that Charles in talking of his promise to the Spaniards to call a parliament, used these words: "I have no intention to call a parliament; these are devils who intend my ruin."

During the summer of the year 1681, the French were making continual encroachments on the side of Germany and Flanders. It appears from Barillon's dispatches, that during these, the King and Lord Hyde, who alone knew of the late money treaty, were in the most cruel distress between the Spaniards pressing for the help to which they were entitled by their treaty with Charles,

Charles, and France threatening that if it was given, she would withdraw her subsidy promised by the late verbal treaty. The dispatches are full of Charles's strong, but fruitless remonstrances of the engagement of the French court in the late verbal treaty, that the Low Countries should not be touched, and of the disgrace and unpopularity at home, both with his ministers and people, which he said he knew he was drawing upon himself by his inactivity.

The extreme meanness to which he was reduced, may be seen in the following dispatch concerning Luxembourg, the key to Germany and the Netherlands, which the French resolved to add to their other usurpations, and to give a new bribe to procure Charles's consent.

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.
—A million of livres to be given to Charles, for allowing
France to seize Luxembourg.*

November 17, 1681.

" I T appears to me that to execute your Majesty's last orders, what I have principally to do is to engage the King of England not to oppose your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg as an equivalent for all your pretensions on the Low Countries. I have not omitted any of the reasons on which the justice of your Majesty's pretension is founded, any more than those which render the acquisition of Luxembourg necessary to the security of your kingdom. I enlarged on the trifling jealousy which this place, situated as it is, ought to give to England and the States General.

I spoke yesterday to Lord Hyde; thinking the time would not admit of the negociation being prolonged, and

that I ought to point out to this minister clearly the advantages the King of England might obtain from your Majesty by favouring his pretension; I also represented to him that the King of England would have in his own hands the repose of the Low Countries, and that your Majesty would make him arbitrator of the treaty which should be made for that purpose; I shewed him the inconveniences that would attend an opposition to the designs of your Majesty, the execution of which would be difficult to prevent; in short, I set forth all the inconveniences of a parliament and a war, and at the same time the safety and utility of an union with your Majesty. I have not yet explained myself clearly upon the sum that I am impowered to offer; it seemed to me sufficient to commence the negociation, and to get the King of England, if I can, to enter into a secret concert with me upon the affair of Luxembourg. I shall not let the occasion slip to conclude whenever it presents; I know well the importance of it. Lord Hyde shewed immediately his uneasiness at what I had said to him about your Majesty's resolution of having Luxembourg; he endeavoured to shew me the consequences of a war in which almost all Europe would be united against your Majesty. I said to him, that I much doubted when your Majesty's intentions should be well known, whether the Princes of the empire, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or even the States General, would enter into a war to hinder your Majesty from having Luxembourg; that your resolution was taken, and that you would not change it; that there was reason to believe that if a war was made with your Majesty for this single town, situated as it is, they would make it although your Majesty had not attempted the acquisition, and that therefore it was better to prevent your enemies designs. Lord Hyde represented to me, that if your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg

bourg should put the King of England under the necessity of assembling the parliament (as he feared it would), it was the most dangerous thing that could happen to the Duke of York; and if his ruin followed it, your Majesty would suffer a much greater loss than that of the town of Luxembourg. By all Lord Hyde said, it appeared to me to be his opinion, that the King his master should make a merit to your Majesty of a thing which he would have a good deal of trouble to hinder; he nevertheless made a shew of a great apprehension lest the advice of Lord Halifax, and the other ministers whom the King of England might consult, should prevail over his, and put affairs here in a condition, to be without remedy.

I conversed this day with the King of England at Lady Portsmouth's. I found him prepared by Lord Hyde upon what I had to say to him; he expressed a great chagrin to hear that your Majesty had taken the resolution to have Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions; he told me it would entirely disconcert all the measures he had taken in his affairs, and that all the inconveniences and embarrassments he could foresee from assembling the parliament, were less than the danger to which he should expose himself by not calling it, when it should appear that your Majesty had resolved to make the town of Luxembourg fall under your power: That if he did not then resolve to assemble his parliament, it would be said he had betrayed the interests of England, and sold your Majesty the most important place in the Low Countries.

I represented to this Prince how little reason they had, who maintained that Luxembourg was so considerable a post, not being on any river, and incapable to serve as a defence to the rest of the Low Countries, but only fit to hurt your Majesty. I gave him freely and strongly my

opinion upon the assembling the parliament, and that it was not a good means for re-establishing his affairs, or preserving his authority; that the persons who were evil intentioned to him, would not lose the occasion of having him in their hands: That if they gave him something immediately, without imposing too hard conditions on him, they would impose them as soon as they could. I shewed him the advantages he would draw from a strict union with your Majesty, and how much it would make him be feared and respected by his enemies. I maintained they would make a three days wonder only of Luxembourg, as they had done of Strasbourg; and that afterwards, not only England, but the rest of Europe, would see with pleasure a peace established every where; that he might be arbitrator of the safety of the Low Countries; and that your Majesty, independent of that, would enter into all the expedients which could be thought of to establish its repose for the future. What I said obtained me no other answer, and I retired after having told his Britannic Majesty that I should yet say something to my Lord Hyde, upon which he would have reason to reflect.

I expected to find a great many difficulties at first. I shall explain myself immediately on the offer your Majesty has permitted me to make of a million in addition to the subsidy for next year; I cannot answer for the success, and I have so often seen them take wrong steps here, that it would be very imprudent in me to flatter myself with being able to persuade the King of England: What gives me room to hope is, that Lord Hyde has not hid from me, that if his advice is followed, the King his master will enter into a secret concert with your Majesty for your having the town of Luxembourg. I think I should have a great advantage in this negotiation, if I could let it be known that your Majesty is willing the augmentation

mentation of two hundred and fifty thousand livres to each payment shall commence from the first of last October; this would be five hundred thousand for the two last payments of this year. If I have the power, I will not make use of it till the last extremity."

After much haggling, Charles agreed to allow the French to seize Luxembourg, and received a million of livres in return. Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 1st of December, 1681: "After many conferences which I have had with the King of England and Lord Hyde, the proposals which I made from your Majesty have been accepted." This bargain was also unknown to all but Hyde.

Even private persons in Britain were prevented by French money at this time from interposing against the encroachments of France. Barillon writes, June 9th, 1681, that Lord Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton, had offered to raise a Scotch regiment for the service of Spain, but that he had stopped him by the hopes of money from France.

After the strict union which was formed between Louis, Charles, and the Duke of York, by the private verbal treaty of the year 1681, Louis became indifferent about keeping up his connections with the popular party in England, and informed Barillon of it. Barillon in answer wrote him the following letter.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.

—Advises Louis not to let the intrigues with the popular party be dropped on account of his late treaty with Charles.

—New proposals from Mr. Montagu. — In the Depot.

September 22, 1681.

“YOUR Majesty orders me by your last dispatch of the 12th to be very circumspect not to give umbrage or mistrust to the King of England by the connection I have with Mr. Montagu and the other friends to the Duke of Monmouth. I shall take every possible precaution; but I cannot forbear representing to your Majesty, that in my way of thinking it is very important to your service not to put out of humour those persons with whom I have had particular and intimate connections. Your Majesty knows of what use it may be to you hereafter, and how much the cabals in opposition to the court are necessary to keep the affairs of England in a state convenient for your Majesty. The correspondence I have with them renders them more difficult with regard to the court; and is perhaps the best and most certain means to prevent the King of England changing his conduct to your Majesty; for as long as the reconciliation is filled with difficulties, and the chiefs of the cabals hold themselves firm, and believe that in the end the King of England must submit himself to them, the reconciliation will not be easy; but if they perceive a connection between your Majesty and his Britannic Majesty, and that at the same time the King of England may be brought to make concessions, the reunion is possible. 'Tis therefore my opinion not to be inactive with regard to them. Besides, inactivity might persuade them

them still more, that your Majesty has taken other measures, and has no farther need of them.

Mr. Montagu two days ago asked a meeting with me; and after a long discourse upon the service he says he has done your Majesty, he told me that he was at present in a capacity to do you as considerable a service as he had done in accusing the high Treasurer; that he would do it with a great deal of zeal, but could not engage in any new affair till the first was finished, and till he saw himself certain of entire and complete payment. That he would not expose himself to appear frivolous to your Majesty, and what he had to say to me was to put you in a condition not to be hurt by England for a long time: That he would not capitulate with your Majesty, but refer himself to you for such a recompence as you might think he deserved for what he had to propose: But he stuck fast to having positive assurances of being paid what was due to him, and that without it he could not again hazard his fortune and his head. I pressed him much to open himself further, but it was impossible for me to get any thing more from him, except that when he was sure of his entire payment, your Majesty would find he was not an imposture, and that he would not for any thing in the world lose your Majesty's esteem and good graces.

I had at first some suspicion that Mr. Montagu wanted to discover (from the manner I should enter upon matters with him) whether your Majesty had made alliances with the King of England that could hinder him from taking any other measure; but it has appeared since to me that he has something solid to propose which might tend to destroy the cabals and intrigues of the Prince of Orange, and prevent their being in the end powerful enough to give law to the King of England and the Duke of York.

Your

Your Majesty will judge what is convenient for your service; it is not hazarding much to advance a few months the payment of what remains due to Mr. Montagu. It may be thought that if he should be entirely paid, he would be less zealous to act, and would not care to expose himself for your Majesty's interest; but on the other hand, I do not see a possibility to make him act without satisfying him, and I believe he will not find his advantage in abandoning your Majesty's interests, from whom he will always expect a powerful protection, and new advantages when he does new services.

I could not help entering into Mr. Montagu's proposition, and discussing it with him, otherwise he might have believed me entirely engaged with the court: I nevertheless represented to him that what he said was of too high a nature, and pressed him strongly to be more explicit; but he told me he should wait for the orders your Majesty should give me, and if he was well treated, I should see what service he was capable of doing.

I endeavoured to penetrate, through Mrs. Hervey, into what Mr. Montagu had to propose, but by what she said, I find he will not trust her with the matter. I plainly see it aims at hindering something important which the Prince of Orange wants to attempt, when it is the least expected, and this may probably be a project of reunion of all the cabals, and a general amnestie, by which the catholic Lords, and Danby and Shaftesbury may get out of prison, and the King of England offer on his part to forget all, provided the parliament on theirs will change their conduct with regard to him.

I only suspect this: But I have been informed Lord Halifax has this project in his head, and that he talks on every occasion, like a man who has no other design than to reconcile the King of England with his people.

I have just received your Majesty's dispatch of the 15th of September, to which was added the extract of a letter from M. d'Avaux; I shall direct my conduct agreeably to what your Majesty prescribes. There is no doubt but the Prince of Orange will use all his efforts to establish a strict union between England and the States General, which may hereafter serve as a basis for a league with other Princes, jealous of your Majesty's greatness: As the Prince of Orange is ignorant of what has passed for some months between your Majesty and the King of England, he works upon a false principle, and believes, that provided the States General enter strongly into engagements against your Majesty, his Britannic Majesty will have no reason not to do the same thing; and that the best means of reconciling himself to his parliament, will be to make a league agreeable to the whole nation. This it is necessary to prevent, and for that purpose it appears to me, that your Majesty having made a treaty with the King of England, or, at least, having engaged him by a supply of money not to separate himself from your interests, it only remains to manage properly the party which opposes him, in order that the King of England, and those who have his confidence, may not be drawn on, nor find their advantages in failing in the engagements which have been formed.

I think what ought at present to be done, is to counteract every sort of reconciliation between the malecontents and the court, and prevent this reunion which the Prince of Orange has in his head. The people I have dealings with can do much to prevent it. They always receive me well when I enter with them into such measures as they desire; for what they principally fear is your Majesty's supporting the King of England. I shall act with a great deal of precaution, and know the importance of not furnishing any pretence to his Bri-

tannic Majesty; but I also think we should not at such a juncture as the present remain with folded arms, and let the Prince of Orange attain his ends without opposition.

In waiting for the receipt of your Majesty's orders upon what Mr. Montagu said to me, I shall endeavour to manage his spirit, and draw from him something more than what he has as yet told me: He is a man who may be of very great help, and by whom I can do more than by many others. To speak the truth, he is not contented, and thinks he has been neglected; but all this may be removed, if your Majesty gives orders for the payment of what is due to him."

Whilst Charles was trafficking with France for yielding to her one of the chief barriers of the Low Countries, one of the heads of the popular party in England was attempting the same traffic with regard to the same object. The following letter from Monsieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth, on this subject, is in the *Depot* at Versailles.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from M. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, November 24, 1681.—Montagu proposes that France should get Luxembourg by means of the popular party in England.

" I SAW Mr. Montagu two days ago. The answer given to Vanbeuning has partly dissipated his suspicions, and he talks to me like one who has a great desire to enter into some new affair. He told me it appeared, from all the steps taken for some time past, your Majesty had formed a design of having Luxembourg; that if it was so, and I could speak confidentially to him, he would
do

do his utmost with his friends to hinder the parliament from doing any thing against your Majesty, or giving one farthing to help the Spaniards; that to this end measures ought to be taken in good time, and things not delayed till the ministers and the Prince of Orange had formed all their cabals to cause their design to succeed. That I knew how he had acted in the affair of the Treasurer and disbanding the army: That the present matter was less difficult, provided they took their measures well. That it was necessary he should connect himself with five or six members of the greatest credit in the House of Commons, and engage them to oppose the designs of the court; but they would not do a thing by halves. That an union should be made which would last, and which might put the parliament in a state of not hurting your Majesty for a long time: That this might be done by gaining the principal people in parliament, and doing something favourable for the commerce in general of England. The conclusion of his discourse was, that your Majesty might take Luxembourg and perhaps some other place if it was concerted with those who could lead the House of Commons, and hinder the resolutions which the court wished should be taken there. I told Mr. Montagu that this testimony of his good will could not but be agreeable to your Majesty; that I could assure him a secret intelligence would be very willingly entered into with him; that though I believed your Majesty would not be against receiving Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions, I did not know that you had a formal design to become master of it, nor did I think you would do it by force: That though I knew by experience what five or six leading men could do in parliament when they acted in concert, I doubted if they could be able to restrain the impetuosity of the House of Commons, when they were animated by the complaints of the

Spaniards, and by the artifices of those who wanted them to take resolutions against France; that what he said was very important, and merited much reflection; that he might well believe I would not neglect the occasion of doing your Majesty a signal service, and entering into an affair which might be so agreeable to you. Mr. Montagu answered, that the affairs of this country were never so sure that one could promise an infallible success; that it would be imprudent in him to engage himself lightly, and promise things he could not perform; that he knew the bent of the nation against France, and the difficulty of restraining the heat of the English upon that head, but that the effect of whatever could be proposed against France, might be obviated by means almost certain; that to this end they might immediately accuse the Duke of York and the three ministers, and resolve not to give any money till the parliament had been satisfied upon that head: That they might demand Lord Danby's condemnation, and put the King of England in a condition to obtain nothing, and reduce him to the necessity of dissolving the parliament, which would render all the declarations he might make of no use. I did not think it proper to reject Mr. Montagu's proposal; incidents may happen to make him serviceable, to overturn the projects that have been formed against your interests. It appears however, that this proposal of engaging himself with the principal men in parliament may be subject to inconveniences; and as long as the King of England does not take part with your Majesty's enemies, an alliance with this Prince is more reasonable and lawful, than an association with the malecontents; but if I find it impossible to make the King of England enter into the proposal of your Majesty's having Luxembourg, and that he suffers himself to be led by those who would unite him to your enemies, I think Mr. Montagu's offers should not be

refused. But without entering into a connection too general, I imagine a particular affair like that of Luxembourg may be treated of, and I do not think it impossible to succeed in the manner Mr. Montagu proposes. I shall keep myself ready to execute what your Majesty orders; and think that in the mean time I ought to manage Mr. Montagu with care, because he may in the end be useful to your Majesty's service. For this purpose it is necessary to pay him soon what is due to him; and I see no other way to make him serviceable for the future than to satisfy him for the past.

I do not neglect the other persons with whom I have had commerce. I know the importance of it; for if I should continue too long without saying any thing to them, they will suspect a re-union between your Majesty and his Britannic Majesty."

The French however chose rather to deal with King Charles than with Mr. Montagu about Luxembourg. Barillon writes on the 25th of December 1681, that Charles had proposed to be arbiter in the affair of Luxembourg, in order that he might have an opportunity of giving it to France.

This probably occasioned the public offer which Louis made to Spain, of referring the dispute about Luxembourg to Charles, but which Spain refused.

This refusal afforded a pretence to Charles to give himself no trouble for the protection of Luxembourg.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches, who was ambassador in France at this time, there are the three following letters on this head,

In Mr.
Graham of
Netherby's
possession.

Letter Lord Preston to the Marquis of Halifax.—Complains of the Spaniards for refusing the arbitration of King Charles.

My Lord,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 82.

“YOUR Lordship judges very right, that the prolongation of the term lately obtained by his Majesty, is the likeliest means to preserve the peace of Christendom, and the world hath reason to wonder that the Spaniards and their allies, either do not or will not seem to see it. I have frequent occasions here of conversing with the ministers of Spain, of which there are now three in this court, and in their discourses they seem still to be averse from accepting the arbitrage of our master, and urge the same things which their envoy at the Hague hath lately offered in a memorial. The advices which they have for some time given to their court, that France hath no mind to enter into a war, I believe may have been one occasion of its not accepting hitherto what hath been proposed: But though it may be true that a year or two’s repose would be very advantageous to this kingdom, yet it is as true, that if they will force a war upon this King, he is much better able to support it, and to attack them, than they are to defend themselves; and I wish they may not involve themselves and their neighbours in blood by their opiniâtreté. One of those ministers told me the other day, that he could wish with all his heart, that the King my master would find out a temperament for the composing of those differences, I asked him, if he could propose any temperament, or any means more likely to produce the effect he intended, than that of his Majesty’s accepting the arbitrage proposed: He said he believed, that if the King would call a parliament, it would put him into a better condition to bring

bring this King to reason, whose custom it is to observe no treaties longer than they appear to be for his advantage, unless he be forced to it. Your Lordship I know understands very well the meaning of this, and I suppose they have not failed to offer something like this in England already, or at least doubtless they will do it soon. I answered, that his Majesty was in very good circumstances, and in a capacity to undertake the arbitrage, and also to see that what was concluded should be observed. That I believed he would not be pleased that any one should prescribe to him the time of calling his parliament. That he would do it when his affairs required it, and not before. But upon the whole, I find their great hopes are that another delay will not be refused after the expiration of this term, and they seem to flatter themselves that the Emperour's affairs will be on a better posture than they are at present; but for my part, I see no great likelihood of that."

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, December 26, 1682.

"SOME streaks of light begin now to appear, and one of the Spanish ministers hath of late explained himself on the affair of the arbitrage; for being asked, why it was not accepted in his court, he answered, because they had no mind to part with Luxembourg, which they were sure was to be sacrificed if they did accept it; yet he said he believed the proposal would be received, if the King of England would call his parliament. Being asked, why they did not declare that now, he answered, that they knew well enough that France had no mind to enter into a war at present; but if it so happened that they came to be much pressed, it would be time enough to declare it then. I hinted something of this by the last post,

post, to the Marquis of Halifax ; but what I write now, hath passed since. By this you will see what is aimed at, and how goodly a proposition is likely soon to be made to his Majesty."

*Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.—
The great importance of Luxembourg.*

S I R, Paris, February 3, S. N. 1683.

"**M**ONSIEUR Delvall being with me the other day, fell to discourse upon the present state of the Spanish affairs. He asked me if I had heard any thing out of England concerning a further prolongation of the term (for the report hath been here that Monsieur de Barrillon had privately acquainted his Majesty that the King his master would accord a delay till the last day of the last month). I told him that I had heard nothing of it, nor did expect to hear any thing, since Spain seemed to desire no such thing. He said that Monsieur de Ronquillos had received a reprimand from the Spanish court for desiring one the last time, he not having orders to do it; and he was sure that it would not be demanded this time, because it would be a tacit owning of the pretensions of France. I answered, that I wondered the conduct of Monsieur de Ronquillos should be disapproved upon that occasion, since I thought that it was the most considerable piece of service that he was capable of doing to his master at that time. He says, that he was sure that the ministers of Spain would willingly hearken to an accommodation, but that the arbitrage, as it was proposed, could not be accepted. That he could wish a temperament were found, and that they were willing to sacrifice considerably for the assuring of a peace; but that they could not part with Luxembourg, which they were forced, for the importance of it, to maintain at a very great charge.

charge. He said, that four years since a minister of France, who had been upon several embassies (and he seemed to decypher Monsieur Courtin), had told him that after all the proposals and attempts of France, as well in the time of peace as war, Luxembourg was the place aimed at, and that no other thing would suit with this King's designs; for being already possessed of Strasbourg, if he had that city in his hands, he rendered himself master of the four electors of the Rhine, whom he might soon force to declare him King of the Romans, and so possess himself of the empire. He said further, that though the house of Austria be low, yet it was not willing to help on its own ruin by this means, and since Luxembourg is the thing aimed at, it were better for him to give it up with a good grace, to be thanked for it by France, than to lose it by an arbitrage.

To all this I replied, that the King, my master, was induced to offer this arbitrage, by the great desire only which he hath always shewn to have the peace and repose of Europe established, and that I should not presume to dive into the reasons which the ministers of Spain had to refuse so wholesome and so seasonable a proposition; but that I could not think that their procedure was reasonable in anticipating the judgment of the King my master, and in presuming to advance that it should be to their disadvantage, since the hopes of each party contending ought to be equal from an indifferent arbitrator; and I did assure him that the King, my master, was one of those."

The refusal of Spain to submit to the arbitration of Charles, furnished France also with a pretence for making more encroachments upon the Spanish Netherlands.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches are the two following on this head.

Letter Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, Paris, July 15, 1682.—France uses Spain's refusal to accept of Charles's arbitration, as an excuse for further encroachments.

S I R,

“ I RECEIVED by the last post the papers which were given you by the Spanish ambassador, and yesterday I went to Versailles and delivered them to Mr. de Croissy, and told him that they contained matter of complaint of some infractions of the treaty of Nimiguen in the neighbourhood of Namur; that they had been delivered to the King, my master, by Don Pedro de Ronquillos, and by his command transmitted to me: That I was also further ordered, to intimate the desire of the King, my master, to his most Christian Majesty, that he would give his orders, that no such infractions as are complained of in those papers, nor any other innovations of any kind may be suffered, much less authorised, to the prejudice of the King of Spain, or of his subjects in those countries. Mr. de Croissy told me, that he did not believe that these complaints were better founded than many others that the Spaniards had of late made; that he could say nothing to the particulars, but that he would acquaint the King, his master, with the subject of those papers, and also of the desire of his Majesty of Great Britain; but he believed no other answer could at this time be reasonably given than this; that all matters in difference betwixt France and Spain of all kinds, were referred and submitted to the King, my master; that if the Spaniards would accept of his mediation, this and all other things would easily be ended and composed; but if they did not soon declare themselves upon that subject,

subject, he believed his master would think himself no way engaged by any thing which he had done or promised, for the settling of peace in Europe, which he passionately desired; but that he should be at liberty to take those measures which he should think would conduce most to his advantage."

Lord Preston to Sir Richard Bulstrode.—To the same purpose.

S I R, Paris, November 8, S. N. 1683.

"**M**ONSIEUR de Croissy, by order of the King, told me the other day, that the small inclination which Spain shewed to an accommodation, had obliged the King, his master, to send orders to the Marschal de Humieres to besiege Courtray; but that as soon as it was taken, he was resolved to submit that, and all his pretensions which he might have upon Spain, to the disposition and determination of the King, our master; that he had acquainted Monsieur Barillon with this resolution, and the reasons of it, by a courier express, which he was to impart to his Majesty: That he had also done the same to Monsieur d' Avaux, and sent him this King's order to notify it to the States General at the Hague, and to make his great design which he hath to establish the peace of Christendom, appear to the whole world. The King, his master, had ordered him further to declare to me, that if Spain would give him any equivalent for the just pretensions which he hath upon the Pais d' Aloft and the Vieu bourg de Gand, that he was willing to accept it, and that he would propose three ways for it; that Spain might choose that which should be most convenient to itself: The first is, that he will be willing to take Luxembourg with the walls and fortifications razed, with twelve or thirteen villages about it,

such as he shall name ; or, in the next place, he will take Courtray and Dixmude, with some villages which depend upon them ; or if the King of Spain be not willing to give him an equivalent in Flanders, he will accept of Purcerda in Catalogne, with that part of the county of Cerdaigne which yet remaineth to the Spaniard. And to make it also appear that he hath no design to attack the empire, when he shall have adjusted differences with Spain, he is willing to grant a truce to it for thirty, twenty-five, or twenty years, as the matter shall be regulated by the diet at Ratisbon. This is what Monsieur de Croissy told me, but whether Spain will hearken to it or not, you are better able to judge than I."

France even prevailed with Charles to interpose his authority with the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the Dutch to persuade Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxembourg.

A letter from Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange on this head, and also a copy of the Prince's answer to one which Charles had written him, are in King William's cabinet as follows :

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Advise him to peace, and not to differ with France on account of Luxembourg.

" IT is a great misfortune there should be such difference in opinion between the King and your Highness, in some affairs relating to the public, on which the peace of Christendom so much depends ; which by the news that is now come of the marching of the French troops into the Pays d'Alost, seems to be very
near

near broke. I see by what your Highness says, it would be very hard, if not impossible, to persuade you to consent that the razing of Luxembourg should be a means to preserve it, upon which subject Monsieur Bentinck must have told your Highness what the King's opinion is, to which I know not what to say, but that what hath happened since in the affairs of the world, hath not contributed any thing to make the condition of the peace more easy. I wish your Highness could bring your judgment to agree with the King's in this particular; because though I confess there may be difficulties even that way, yet without it, they seem to be insurmountable, at least to me, who have not a judgment clear enough to see the way out of them; a little time will now shew what things must come to, and your Highness must needs know, that it is in peace that the King can be most useful to his allies. I pray God direct your Highness and all great persons concerned in it, to find out the means to preserve it."

St. James's, August 28, 1681.

Translation.

Letter from the Prince of Orange to the King of England.—

In answer to the King's interposing with him to get Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxembourg.—Endeavours to wipe off mutual suspicions.—In King William's cabinet.

Saerdyk, November 5, 1682.

" I HAVE received with the respect that I ought, the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me by Mr. Chudleigh: It will be very easy for me to obey your orders, and to persuade the Emperor and Spain to peace, since I can assure you from my certain knowledge, that they desire it, as much as any one can,

can, provided it be general : And I do not believe that your Majesty would wish any other, since it could not be of any duration ; and I am persuaded that any other is not the interest either of your Majesty, nor that of this state, which looks at nothing but a sure and durable peace, to which they will contribute all that is in their power, as I shall also do. And although I know that France endeavours to make me pass for one who wishes for war, I hope your Majesty will do me the justice not to credit it, when you take the pains to consider, there is not a man in Europe who has an interest more contrary to it, considering all the circumstances of things. I was very sorry to see endeavours made to persuade your Majesty that there were allies, who could have the imprudence to threaten to force you into a war. I cannot believe that any could be found who would have been impertinent enough to hold such language. But assuredly, these are the artifices of France, which has indirectly endeavoured to persuade your Majesty of it, in order to put them in a bad light, with much reason, in your imagination. I do not believe that there are any of these allies who would engage your Majesty, or ask you to do any thing but what is agreeable to the treaties which they have with you. At least, I can answer with regard to this state, which desires nothing more than to do what is agreeable to your Majesty, and to testify the inviolable attachment they have to your interests, and that they will never fail to contribute to your Majesty's greatness and power, which is also their true interest, and from which they will never depart. With regard to me, one of the greatest mortifications which I have in the world is, that I have never till this time had any occasion to be able to make your Majesty see my true zeal for your service and your interests. I hope you will never give credit to persons who would persuade you to the

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the contrary, or think they can make me believe that your Majesty does not do me the honour to have any longer a friendship for me, as I see you suspect will happen by the letter which you have done me the favour to write me, since it is so long ago that you have assured me of the contrary. I can never have such thoughts, especially when I see the goodness which you have lately had to interest yourself in the violences which France hath committed against me in Orange. And I hope that you will protect me, and get me reparation and satisfaction for what I have suffered so unjustly there. If the news which I have received be true, that France has taken all the principality of Orange, under pretence of an old pretension of the house of Longueville, I shall be entirely ruined if your Majesty does not assist me with vigour, and cause to be given back to me what has been taken with so much injustice. I expect this from your goodness, and the assurances which you do me the favour to give me of the continuation of your friendship, and because I shall be all my life, with a profound respect, your most humble, and most obedient nephew, and servant."

In the course of the dispute with Spain about Luxembourg, France seized the principality of Orange under pretence that it belonged to the house of Longueville. Charles, as appears by the letter last cited, had flattered the Prince of Orange with his protection in that matter. However, he never gave it.

On this head there are the three following letters among Lord Preston's dispatches, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Has no orders to concur with the Dutch Ambassador in asking redress about the principality of Orange.

S I R,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

“ I HAVE received two of yours of the 4th instant, S. V. in one of which you are pleased to let me know, that his Majesty would be glad to know what offices the Dutch Ambassador would engage me in, in the affair of Orange. I acquainted you some time since, by one of the 28th of November last, that the Dutch Ambassador had sent to me twice or thrice to know if I had received any orders in that affair; my answer was, that I had not, which was all that passed between us. I have seen him several times since, and he never of late hath said any thing to me of it; but I believe he might have heard from Holland, that the Prince was resolved to make application to his Majesty, and so he might imagine that I had received his commands in it. I have it from a good hand, that it is resolved, that Monsieur Heinsius shall come, but his journey is retarded at the present, till they know his Majesty's resolutions, it being hoped there, that I shall have his commands to act in concert with him. It is my duty to represent all things as truly as I can; and I must tell you, that I believe no manner of success is to be hoped from any instances which may be made in that affair; for besides what is personal betwixt this King and the Prince, they do say that it is a private business, and that it doth no way regard the affairs of Europe; though in this case it may very justly be alledged, that since there is particular care taken of the Prince of Orange and his interests, by the treaty of Nimiguen, what hath been done against him of late, and the pro-

ceeding of the French at Orange, can be no other than a formal controvention of that treaty."

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

Paris, March 31, S. N. 1683.

"THE Dutch Ambassador brought Monsieur Heinfius the day after his arrival, to make me a visit. He asked me if I had received any orders to act in concert with him in the affair of Orange. I told him I had received none. He told me that his Majesty had promised that as soon as he had notice of his (Monsieur Heinfius's) arrival here, that I should have instructions in this affair, and that the States General had written to his Majesty to signify his departure. If his Majesty doth think of this, I must beg to have his punctual orders how far I am to engage with Monsieur Heinfius; and that if I am to join with him, we may present no memorials but such as are first seen and approved of by his Majesty. I see very well that it will be a business of volume and of trouble enough. Monsieur Spankheim hath orders also from the Elector of Brandenbourg to act with Monsieur Heinfius."

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—The Dutch Ambassador has no success.

S I R, Paris, October 24, S. N. 1683.

"MONSIEUR Heinfius finding that he can obtain nothing in this court, in the affair of Orange, did on Tuesday last demand his audience of Conge, and is preparing to leave this place in a few days."

France had indeed little reason to be afraid of the interposition of England upon the continent at this time.

VOL. I. * O Barillon

Barillon writes, April 2, 1682, that having warned Charles not to be drawn into a war against France, that Prince answered,—“ Leave me to myself. I know the danger from which I have escaped; and it will not be easy to make me run into it again.”

Soon after the secret treaty of the year 1681, between Charles and Louis, the Duke of York quitted his exile in Scotland, and came to attend his brother. Louis the XIVth, knowing the Duke's attachment to France, and the weight he might have in keeping his brother steady to the secret treaty, ordered Barillon to act in concert with him, and writ the following letter to the Duke.

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to the Duke of York, March 20, 1682, upon his return from Scotland.—Trusts to his keeping his brother firm to the late secret treaty.

“ MY brother, I have learnt by the last letters from Mr. Barillon, my Ambassador in England, that you was to be in a few days at Newmarket with the King, my brother; this news was the more agreeable to me, as besides the interest I take in all that concerns you, through the sincere and cordial affection I bear you, I see also, that your councils and firmness will henceforth be very necessary to strengthen the King of Great Britain in the resolution to avail himself of the means I have offered him to confirm the peace, and render immovable the ties of friendship, to which you have so much contributed. Mr. Barillon will more fully inform you of my intentions; and I assure myself you will the more readily believe what he shall say on my part, as he can-

not express sufficiently to what a degree I wish to procure your satisfaction."

In King William's box and in Doctor Morton's hands, there are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in the period between his return from Scotland, and the death of King Charles, concerning the disputes of France with Spain, and with the Prince of Orange. I print them, and in the order of time, because by that means the effects of his connexions with France will best appear.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to interest himself about the principality of Orange.—Wishes for peace.

London, December 26, 1682.

“ **T**HIS evening I received yours of the first of January, by which I am very sorry to find the ill usage you have still in the affair of Orange, and shall be sure this night, so soon as I can speak with his Majesty, to shew him your letter, and to press him to do his part, that those extraordinary proceedings may have an end; and should be glad all things in Christendom might end in peace and quietness.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, January 8, 1683.

“ I HAVE now received yours of the 12th, and did put his Majesty in mind again of your affair of Orange, who told me he would be sure to move in it when it should be a proper time. I agree with you,

that no body has more reason to desire peace than yourself, and since you are of that mind, I hope you will take those measures that are necessary to obtain it; and though you need not separate from your allies, you may give them good advice, which I believe the Spaniards would follow, if you gave it them, they being no way prepared to make war; and I fear the Emperor will have enough to do to defend himself from the Turk."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to foreign politics,

Windsor, August 14, 1683.

"**T**HOUGH we differ in our opinions as to affairs on your side of the water (which I am sorry for), that shall not alter my kindness to you: For people may be very good friends, I think, though they may differ in point of judgment, as well in matter of state, as religion."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Blames the Spaniards for not accepting Charles's mediation.—Bitterness against the late conspirators.

Winchester, -Sept. 2, 1683.

"**I** HAD, before I received yours, heard of the French troops being to march into Flanders; and since the Spaniards will not save all by demolishing of Luxembourg, I do not see what is to be done. 'Tis what they might have long expected, and I believe it had happened sooner had not the King interposed; and if where you are, people had been of this mind, and the arbitration had been accepted of, this invasion had not been, and all Christendom had been in peace, and free to have assisted the Emperor against the Turk. We have

have as great devils to deal with here, for though some of the conspirators have been taken and executed, yet that party are as malicious and fiery as ever; so that we here must look to ourselves, and not engage in any war beyond sea."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose about Spain.

Winchester, Sept. 9, 1683.

"I SEE by yours of the 10th, which I received on Friday after I came from Portsmouth, that you were come back to the Hague, upon the news of the march of the French into Flanders, to consider what was to be done upon it. I could have wished the Spaniards would have taken other measures to have prevented it, which they might have done, and not have put so hard a task on their allies to help them, against so powerful a Prince as they have now to deal with, without hazarding all as they now do."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.

London, Nov. 9, 1683.

"LAST night I received yours by Mr. Borstel of the 9th, and had before heard of the good news of the taking of Grave; and am as sorry as any body can be that the war is begun in Flanders, and wish that while the winter lasts, some means of accommodation may be found, that all Christendom may be in peace."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, April 7, 1684.

“ I FIND by yours of the 11th that you are troubled at the last answer you had from the King concerning the proposals had been made to him by Mr. Citters, and we here are troubled that none of the proposals made by the French have been hearkened unto, nor none made to them, which might probably be accepted by them, there being nothing more desired here, than that all Christendom might be in peace, which I fear will hardly be brought about, now that the King of France sets out so soon for the army.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Severity against the conspirators.

Windsor, April 15, 1684.

“ T O-MORROW I am to go to London for two or three days, where one Halloway, one of the conspirators, is to be tried, though he might have been hanged without that ceremony, having been taken and already outlawed, but this way is chosen to make more public what he has confessed of that damnable conspiracy. I am glad to find by our Flanders letters that the Spaniards begin to hearken to such a truce as was proposed by France. I wish all their allies may be of the same mind, and then there may be hopes of having a peace, which is very much wished for here, and ought to be in my mind every where else.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Pretends to be displeased with the taking of Luxembourg.

London, May 30, 1684.

“ I HAD not yours of the 30th, which should have come to me the post before, till Tuesday last, and that so late that I could not then answer it. I believe, soon after you had written it you had the news of the taking of Luxembourg: Sure it was a great neglect in the Spaniards to have so few men in it, especially since they looked on it as a place of such consequence. I hope now they will make peace, and not lose all the rest of Flanders, as they have done that important town.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Approves of the States advances of peace to France.

London, June 26, 1684.

“ YESTERDAY before I came from Windsor, I received yours of the 30th, by which I see you were a-going back to the Hague, and your troops to their several garrisons in Holland. I cannot be of your mind as to what the States have done, for I think they had nothing else to do, but to agree to what was proposed to them by France, as the only means to have a peace, which I am sure is the true interest of Holland as well as England, and therefore am glad at what they have done; and if the Spaniards be wise they ought to be so too, since by it Flanders is saved.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Wishes France's offer of a twenty years truce to be accepted.

London, February 15, 1684.

“ **A**S for matters here, all things go very well and quietly, and his Majesty's authority encreases every day. I could wish with all my heart, that where you are, the French proposals of a truce for twenty years were hearkened to, being persuaded that would be much better for all Christendom than a war.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Partial to French terms of peace.

Newmarket, March 10, 1684.

“ **A**S for news, this place affords none; and God be thanked all things are very quiet in our country; I am sorry they are not so on your side of the water. I see the King's answer to the proposals that were given him by Monsieur Citters from the allies, was not then come to you, but long before this it is; I could have wished they had been more reasonable, that some good might have come of them.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Partial to French terms.

London, March 25, 1684.

“ **I** HEAR by your letters, that you were making all the preparations for a war, and that you have sent more troops into Flanders, besides those you have already there; but for all that, if what we hear from France be true, of the Empress having sent a courier into Spain to advise the acceptance of the truce, I will hope there may yet be a peace. I see by what you say,
- you

you are not satisfied with the answer his Majesty made to the proposals made by Mr. Citters in the name of the allies ; I am sorry for it, since his Majesty can give no other answer."

Partly in King William's box, and partly in Doctor Morton's hands, are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, concerning the invasion of the liberties of the city, and the Rye-house plot. I print all these also, and in the order of time.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The success in the city mortifying to the Whigs.

London, October 24, 1682.

"AS for news, all things go very well here, and Pritchards has carried it against Gold and Cornish ; to-morrow it is to be declared at the common hall, so that we shall have a good and loyal Lord Mayor, as well as two Sheriffs of the same stamp, which is a mighty mortification to the whigs."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Verdict against Lord Gray and Pilkinton mortifying to the seditious.

London, November 28, 1682.

"AS for the news of this place, you have already heard what has past as to Lord Gray and Pilkinton last week, that I need not repeat it again to you ; what was done to the last has mortified very much that seditious and turbulent party which now lose ground every day."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Shaftesbury and Lord Keeper North.

Windfor, December 18, 1682.

“ I FIND by yours of the 22d, which I had yesterday at London, that Lord Shaftesbury was at Amsterdam, and do easily believe that you will have nothing to do with such a kind of a man as he, that is so very great an enemy to all our family in general, as well as a particular one to me. I am told that many of the fanatic party flock to him, and no doubt, to his power he will do his part to do what harm he can to us. We came from London this morning, where I do not know whether the Lord Chancellor were alive or dead, he being speechless *last night*; 'tis believed that Lord Chief Justice North will succeed him, who is both able and bold, as well as very loyal.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth owns the conspiracy.

London, November 27, 1683.

“ THOUGH you will hear the news I am going to tell you from other hands, 'tis too considerable a one for me not to write it to you; 'tis that the Duke of Monmouth on Saturday last came and delivered himself up to the secretary, and desired he might speak with the King and myself alone; so soon as the secretary had advertised his Majesty, he went down to the secretary, taking me along with him; where the Duke of Monmouth, after having asked his Majesty's pardon in the humblest manner imaginable, and owned his knowledge of the whole conspiracy, except that part of the assassination, asked pardon of me also, and said as much to me

upon that subject as I could expect of him, with all the promises of his good behaviour for the future, a man could say: After his Majesty had heard all he had to say, he ordered the secretary to put him into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms, till further pleasure; the next day his Majesty ordered his release, and has ordered his pardon to be prepared, having pardoned him, and permits him to be at court again."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Algernon Sidney's death and Monmouth's confession will give the lie to the Whigs.

London, December 4, 1683.

"AS for news here, Algernon Sidney is to be beheaded on Friday next on the Tower-hill, which besides the doing justice on so ill a man, will give the lie to the whigs, who reported he was not to suffer. The Duke of Monmouth, also, I am told, will some way or other give them the lie, by owning in a more public way, than he has done yet, his knowledge of the conspiracy; which that rebellious party, and some of his dependers, endeavoured to persuade the world he knew nothing of."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth retracts.—Account of Algernon Sidney's death.

London, December 7, 1683.

"I BELIEVE you will be as much surpris'd with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being ordered to go out of Whitehall, and not to appear in his Majesty's presence, as you were at his coming in, and being permitted to stay at court. His Majesty sent this morning the Vice Chamberlain with that message to him, being very much displeased with his not owning by a letter or paper under his hand, his knowledge of the conspiracy,

as he had done it, by word of mouth, to his Majesty and myself; besides which, some of his servants and dependers reported every where, that what was in the Gazette concerning him was false, for that he had never owned any knowledge of the conspiracy, which disingenuous proceeding of his did so anger his Majesty, that it obliged him to shew his displeasure to him, as he has done; and now 'tis visible to all the world, that he only designed by his coming in, to get his pardon, and to keep his credit with his party still, both which he has now done; and though his coming in and being pardoned as he was, has done some harm; I hope this good will come of it, that his Majesty will now never believe any thing he says again, and then he can do but little harm. Algernon Sidney was beheaded this day, died very resolutely, and like a true rebel and republican."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth in disgrace.—The Duke of York vexed at war breaking out against France again.

London, December 14, 1683.

"I Received yesterday yours of the 18th, and by it see you were surpris'd with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being come to court, and believe you were no less surpris'd with his behaviour since, and what happened to him upon it, of all which I have already given you an account. On Wednesday his Majesty told the council all that had past in that affair of the Duke of Monmouth, and shewed them the letter he would have had that Duke have signed, and ordered the letter, and what he had said, to be registered in the council books, to satisfy the world of the truth of all that past, and that the Duke of Monmouth had owned to him the knowledge of all the conspiracy, except the assassinating part,

of

of which he said he knew nothing; and after the Duke of Monmouth's behaviour, it was necessary for his Majesty to say what he did in council. Before I had had your last letter, I had heard of the Spaniards having declared war against France; I was sorry to hear it, being an enemy to war, and fear most of you on your side of the water will be engaged in it. We here shall keep out on't, I hope, as well as we can, for we will not be drawn into it, having enough to do at home."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Algernon Sidney's last speech, and of the Duke of Monmouth.

London, January 4, 1684.

"[I HAVE received yours of the 4th, and by it see you had read Algernon Sidney's paper, and though it was a very treasonable and insolent one, yet, 'twas thought fit to have it printed, that the world might see what his principles were, and what both he and the rest of the conspirators drove at, and its being published has really done good. His trial also is come out, and I have sent it to my daughter, by one who goes with the packet boat. I do very easily believe you were surprised at the extraordinary carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, and since he was no truer a convert, 'twas very well he shewed himself so soon, for had he stayed and dissembled, he might have done much mischief; but now he can do but little, for all the world is now satisfied, he is never to be trusted, and then he has all his vain fancies in his head. 'Tis not now certain where he is; his wife and some others of his friends say, he is gone beyond sea, and by a letter out of Zealand, they give an account of two English gentlemen which landed there, and went for Antwerp, and by the description they make of them, one of them should be he; if he be in Flanders, I suppose

pose by that time you have this you will have heard of it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his seeing the Duke of Monmouth.

Windfor, May 20, 1684.

"I FIND by your letter, that the Duke of Monmouth had been to see you: I do not at all wonder that he did not send to advertise you of his coming to you, but do think it odd enough for him to present himself to you, after his having been engaged in so horrid a conspiracy, for the alteration of the government, and ruin of the King and our family; and his refusing since he had his pardon to own that under his hand, which he confessed to the King, I being by, is sure in its self, as offensive to his Majesty and myself, as any thing can be, and shews he did it to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and his vain pretensions to the crown. For what else could have made him refuse to sign, what he had owned himself to the King and me, which is the greatest reflection imaginable upon both of us, as if he had not owned that to us, which his Majesty required him to sign? When I began my letter, I did not think to have said so much to you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; and let him give what reasons he pleases for the occasion of his being at Bruxelles, I can never trust to what he says or believe him, and I think you will be to blame if you do."

Duke of York to the Princess of Orange.—Complains of her husband for seeing Lord Brandon, and the Duke of Monmouth.

Windfor, June 6, 1684.

"I HAD not your's of the 9th till Wednesday, by which I find you have received mine. I wrote to you upon the subject of Lord Brandon, and I easily believe, that
you

you might have forgotten for what he had been in the Tower, yet others could not be ignorant of it, nor have so short memories; and I must need tell you, it scandalises all loyal and monarchical people here, to know how well the Prince lives with, and how civil he is to the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon; and it heartens exceedingly the factious party here, which are a sort of people that one would think the Prince should not shew any countenance to; and in this affair methinks you might talk with the Prince (though you meddle in no others); the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Brandon, and the rest of that party, being declaredly my mortal enemies. And let the Prince flatter himself as he pleases, the Duke of Monmouth will do his part, to have a push with him for the crown, if he, the Duke of Monmouth, outlive the King and me. Some posts since I wrote pretty freely to the Prince upon this subject in general, to which I have yet had no answer: However, it will become you very well to speak to him of it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Believes Monmouth is in England.

St. James's, Dec. 2, 1684.

"AS for news, there is little returning amongst us, all things being very quiet here; what is most talked on is, about the Duke of Monmouth to know where he is; 'tis believed he is here for several reasons, besides that he was neither in Holland nor Flanders when the last letters came from thence."

Barillon's letter of 19 July, 1683, gives the account which I have given of Louis the XIVth interposing to save the life of Lord Ruffel.

Men who look into the true, because the secret sources of history to be found in the writings of the actors of the times, will generally find them filled with the animosities of their ancestors against each other, and upon that account many of those who are called prudent men, and who think themselves so, are apt to say that a veil had better be drawn over them. Yet in inquiries of this kind we shall always find, even amidst the fiercest contentions of party, a degree of private virtue on which the mind of the inquirer reposes itself with joy. The descendants of Lord Russel will feel pleasure in hearing that Lord Dartmouth, though of all others the most personally attached to Charles and James, and the most interested in any misfortune which could befall them, begged the life of Lord Russel from that sovereign whom he had offended. Strangers to these families will read it with pleasure, because it confirms one of the most pleasing of all truths, that tenderness of mind and courage go continually together. In the manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's History by the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state to Queen Anne, which the present Earl of Dartmouth was so good as to show me, there is the following passage:

“ My father told the King, the pardoning of Lord Russel would lay an eternal obligation upon a very great and numerous family, and the taking his life would never be forgotten; and his father being alive it would have little effect upon the rest of the family besides resentments; and certainly there was some regard due to Lord Southampton's daughter, and her children. The King answered, All that is true; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine; which would admit of no reply.”

The petitions of the Earl of Bedford and of Lord Russel to King Charles, for Lord Russel's life, mentioned in the Memoirs, are in these words.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of William Earl of Bedford,

Humbly sheweth ;

THAT could your petitioner have been admitted into your presence, he would have laid himself at your royal feet in behalf of his unfortunate son, himself and his distressed and disconsolate family, to implore your royal mercy ; which he never had the presumption to think could be obtained by any indirect means. But shall think himself, wife, and children, much happier to be left but with bread and water, than to lose his dear son for so foul a crime as treason against the best of Princes, for whose life he ever did, and ever shall pray more than for his own.

May God incline your Majesty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring gray hairs with sorrow to my grave.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of William Russel,

Most humbly sheweth ;

THAT your petitioner does once more cast himself at your Majesty's feet, and implores, with all humility, your mercy and pardon, still avowing that he never had the least thought against your Majesty's life, nor any design to change the government ; but humbly and sorrowfully confesses his having been present at those meet-

ings, which he is convinced were unlawful and justly provoking to your Majesty; but being betrayed by ignorance and inadvertence, he did not decline them as he ought to have done, for which he is truly and heartily sorry; and therefore humbly offers himself to your Majesty to be determined to live in any part of the world which you shall appoint, and never to meddle any more in the affairs of England, but as your Majesty shall be pleased to command him.

May it therefore please your Majesty

To extend your royal favour and mercy to your petitioner, by which he will be for ever engaged to pray for your Majesty, and to devote his life to your service.

It is probable that Charles was not ignorant of a fact hinted at by Algernon Sidney at his trial; to wit, that he had been the cause of preventing a scheme to assassinate the King in his youth. From two letters of Colbert to his own court, dated 4th and 25th August 1670, it appears, that the French court gave information to Charles of Sidney's being then at Paris, and desired to know how they should act with regard to him; that Lord Arlington proposed to Charles, that a pension should be given by France to Mr. Sidney, because he was in straits; and that Charles consented to it. Charles at first also agreed, that he should be at liberty to continue at Paris, but afterwards changed his mind, and desired he might be removed from it. The prescience which Charles, even in the plenitude of his power at this period, had of the consequence of this man, then an exile, and in want, is sweetly flattering to those who enjoy this our Temple of Liberty, because it shows, that the true greatness of every

every individual depends upon himself. Upon this head Colbert, in his letter of 4th August 1670, relates Charles's expressions with regard to Sidney, thus: "The King (Charles) said to me again, that he did not care whether the said Sidney lived in Paris, Languedoc, or any other place he pleased, provided he did not return to England, where, said he, his pernicious sentiments, supported with so great parts and courage, might do much hurt." And in Colbert's letter of 25th August 1670, he says, Charles said to him of Sidney, "That it was proper to let him return to Languedoc, and that he could not be too far from England." And in other letters I observed, that wherever Charles spoke of Sidney, he called him "un homme de cœur et d'esprit:" which may perhaps be translated "a man of heart and head."

In King William's box, there is, in Lord Portland's hand-writing, the following copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to him, concerning the Prince's having seen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon, after the Rye-house plot.

Translation.

Complains of Chudleigh's insolence.—His reasons for seeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon.

Hague, 7th July, 1684.

"IT is a long time since I troubled you with my letters, having nothing good to write you about public affairs, which have taken the turn you know of; but I cannot help communicating to you an affair which has happened to me. Two days ago, Mr. Chudleigh came to tell me, that he had an order from the King to inform me, that his Majesty took ill my having seen the Duke

of Monmouth and Lord Brandon; and after having given him my reasons why I did not think I had been in the fault, he gave me a reprimand for the honours of war which I had caused to be paid to the Duke of Monmouth, in a manner so insolent, and at the same time owning that he had no order for it, that if I had not had consideration for his character, I would not have suffered it as I did. He has behaved, on many occasions, very impertinently with regard to me, being a very foolish and impertinent man. But I have not liked to complain of it, not even upon this occasion, knowing well that in the present conjuncture I should not have been listened to. I thought it right to inform only you of it, that if you think it necessary, and see an occasion, you may let his Majesty know of it, as also that I do not think I have given any occasion for his being dissatisfied with me for seeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon. The first is his son, whom he has pardoned for the faults which he may have committed; and though he has removed him from his presence, I know that in the bottom of his heart, he has always some friendship for him, and that the King cannot be angry with him. With regard to the other, it is true he has been in the Tower, but he was set at liberty without any thing having been proved against him, at least so far as I know. I assure you that I would never see, much less give any sort of protection to, people who have committed any crime against his Majesty. I am too much attached by duty and inclination to his service, to do it, for which service I will spare neither my life nor my fortune. Of which I intreat you to assure his Majesty when you think proper, and not take amiss the trouble which I now give you."

From Barillon's dispatches in the *Depot* at Versailles, it appears, that after the Rye-house plot, King Charles
and

and the Duke of York were on the very worst terms with the Prince of Orange; that they even suspected him of having encouraged that part of it in which the great men were engaged; that they refused a visit which he offered them; and that, when Van Citters was sent by the Prince of Orange in the end of the year 1684, to vindicate his conduct from the different accusations brought against it, he was received with coldness.

The following letters, in King William's cabinet, from the Duke of York at that time to the Prince, correspond with Barillon's relations.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Much out of humour with him.

London, October 3, 1684.

“ I HAVE had your's of the 2d, and you may be sure that I shall do my part in what concerns you, but it is necessary you do your's to satisfy the King; and pray consider, whether he has had reason to be satisfied with several things you have done for some time past. I could say more to you upon this subject, but am not encouraged to do it, since I have found that you have had so little consideration for things I have said to you, which I thought of concern to our family, though you did not.”

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Out of humour with the Prince.

Whitehall, Jan. 2, 1684.

“ I HAD this night after I came from the play your's of the 9th, in which you repeat to me what was in your's of the 2d. To both which, all I can say is, that it is necessary you do your part, before you can expect the King can be satisfied with you.”

All true Englishmen were unhappy at the differences between Charles and the Prince of Orange. Among others who wrote to the Prince of Orange on this subject, Lord Godolphin took the liberty to do it.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his differences with King Charles.—In the Depot.

Whitehall, April 18, 1684.

“IT was with abundance of joy and satisfaction that I received the honour of your Highness’s letter, and the assurance you are pleased to give me, that you still preserve some remembrance of me, and some remainder of that goodness which you have expressed to me on so many occasions. I will not trouble your Highness with any compliments, knowing very well how little you care for them. But I imagine your Highness will easily believe, I am extremely and particularly sensible of our general unhappiness from the want of that right understanding between the King and your Highness, which is so necessary for both your interests, that I should hope, and most humbly beseech your Highness, that you would never lose any occasion of endeavouring to restore yourself to that kindness and affection which the King is so naturally inclined to have for you. I dare not presume to enter into particulars, or to trouble your Highness with my reasonings upon this subject: I beg only that you will be pleased to preserve me some small place in your favourable thoughts, which I shall study to deserve on all occasions, as becomes your Highness’s most obedient, humble, and most faithful servant.”

The apathy of the Duke of York's character is strongly marked in the two following letters to one of his friends, on two very interesting subjects, to wit, the Earl of Argyle's condemnation, and the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters. With regard to the first he writes thus :

“ Edinburgh, Dec. 13, 1681. Lord Argyle's trial began yesterday, and their forms in the justice court are so tedious, that they could not make an end of it then, but will as I believe this evening : And have reason to believe the jury will find the bill and not *ignoramus* ; and that little Lord will be once again at his Majesty's mercy.”

And with regard to the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters, the Duke of York writes thus from Edinburgh :—“ I find the generality of the best men here, much troubled at the indulgence the Duke of Monmouth got for the fanatics here, after they had been beaten ; and say it will encourage them to another rebellion.”

While we form a judgment of James's character from intrinsic evidence, that of his own letters, let us not condemn him by the lies of party. Bishop Burnet, in giving an account of the Duke's shipwreck, in the year 1682, imputes the loss of above one hundred persons of the noblest blood in Britain, to the insensibility of the Duke of York and Lord Dartmouth ; and would have it believed, that while the Duke neglected his friends, he saved his dogs and his priests.

The following letter disproves the imputation :

Earl of Dartmouth to Erasmus Lewis, Esq.—Account of the Duke's shipwreck.—In the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth.

S I R,

Sandwell, Jan. 25, 1682.

“THIS is only in answer to the last paragraph in yours of the 21st. My father was on board the Gloucester, but so little deserved to have the drowning of a 150 men (which the bishop has so liberally bestowed upon him) laid chiefly to his charge, that it was in great measure owing to him, that any escaped after the ship had struck. He several times pressed the Duke to get into the boat, who refused to do it, telling him, that if he were gone, no body would take care of the ship, which he had hopes might be saved, if she were not abandoned. But my father finding she was ready to sink, told him if he stayed any longer they should be obliged to force him out : Upon which the Duke ordered a strong box to be lifted into the boat, which besides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father asked him with some warmth, if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke answered that there were things of so great consequence both to the King and himself, that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost. Before he went off he enquired for Lord Roxborough and Lord Obrian, but the confusion and hurry was so great that they could not be found : When the Duke and as many as she would hold with safety were in the boat, my father stood with his sword drawn to hinder the crowd from oversetting of her, which I suppose was what the bishop esteemed a fault ; but the King thanked him publicly for the care he had taken of the Duke ; and the Dutchess, who was not
apt

apt to favour him much upon other occasions, said upon this, that she thought herself more obliged to him than to any man in the world, and should do so, as long as she lived. I cannot guess what induced the bishop to charge my father with the long-boat's not being sufficiently manned, for if that were true (which I much doubt) it was not under his direction, he being on board in no other capacity, but as a passenger and the Duke's servant: And I believe the reflection upon the Duke for his care of the dogs to be as ill grounded; for I remember a story (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a struggle that happened for a plank between Sir Charles Scarborough, and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me, that the dogs were left to take care of themselves (as he did) if there were any more on board, which I never heard till the bishop's story-book was published. This is all in relation to that affair, that ever came to the knowledge of, Sir, your most faithful humble servant."

The dependence of the two royal brothers upon France was at this time so extreme, that Barillon writes, 18th July 1683, that King Charles had thoughts of a marriage between the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark; but that he and the Duke of York would take no resolution till they knew how far it would be agreeable to Louis; and that Lord Sunderland had proposed she should rather marry the Prince of Rhodé sur Yon, in order to tie Charles and Louis faster together.

France at this time meddled in almost every the most domestic affair of England. Barillon, as appears by his letters of the 10th and 28th of February, 1684, was

uneasy that Lord Danby, however sunk in the capacity of hurting France, should be released from the Tower. But the Duke of York, who saw better the contempt of parliament which was implied in admitting a person to bail who had been committed by parliament, expressed himself thus: "The Duke of York told me, on speaking on that head, that Lord Danby's releasement could give him no fear, because it would be a still greater security that there was to be no parliament for a long time."

Barillon writes on the 13th November 1684, and 8th January 1685, that the scheme was communicated to him of reforming the Irish army, by bringing papists into it, and making it a security for the King to trust to against his other subjects. And at an after-period, to wit, on the 2d of April 1685, he writes, that King James had given the Duke of Ormond's regiment of cavalry to Talbot (afterwards Lord Tyrconnel, and a papist) because his brother had intended it.

Between the dissolution of Charles's last parliament and his death, Barillon's dispatches having no great political objects, are full of the intrigues of the court. They show that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, after the dissolution of the parliament, changed her conduct intirely, owned to the King she had been misled by the popular party in the affair of the exclusion, believing that it would procure quiet to the King, whereas she was now convinced that it was he who was aimed at through his brother, connected her interests with those of the Duke of York, and brought Lord Sunderland again into administration on his promise of doing the same.

I was at much pains to find out, whether there was any evidence among Barillon's dispatches of an intrigue, by the Dutchess of Portsmouth, at the end of Charles's reign, to bring the Duke of Monmouth to court at the expence of the Duke of York, who was to be sent away to Scotland; and another by Lord Halifax to bring about a reconciliation of the King with the Prince of Orange at the expence of France.

Barillon writes on the 7th of December 1684, that the Duke of York had then told him, that it was intended he should go to Scotland soon, to hold a parliament there. He writes on the 14th and 18th December of that year, that the Duke of Monmouth was secretly in London: And a marginal note in Barillon's account of the death of King Charles (hereafter to be printed) says, that the King had then seen him. Barillon writes on the 8th January 1684, that Halifax was at that time at great pains to persuade the King to be reconciled to the Prince of Orange and Duke of Monmouth. It appears from Barillon's dispatch of the 26th of July 1685 (to be printed in Appendix to Part I. Book II.), that Louis the XIVth had in the year 1684 discontinued the subsidy due to Charles by the secret treaty of the year 1681; the reason of which probably was, either because he thought he stood no longer in need of the friendship of Charles, or because he thought a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange impossible: And perhaps this might have irritated Charles against France, towards the end of his life. These things make it not impossible that some change was in agitation. But the evidence rather lies that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, whom Charles often duped as well as he did his ministers, was ignorant at least of that part of the intrigue which regarded the interest of the Duke of

* R 2

York.

York. For on the 30th of November 1684 Barillon writes, that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, thinking herſelf dying, had adjured the King to ſtand by his brother, and had made him ſwear to do ſo; and that Charles told this to the Duke of York, who deſired Barillon to thank her. And Barillon in a letter in the next reign ſays, that the firſt viſit which King James paid after his brother's death, was to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

King Charles, two years before his death, came to know, that Louis the XIVth, in pretending to be his friend, had been intriguing againſt him with that part of his ſubjects which oppoſed him: And perhaps the conſciouſneſs that he was unpopular at home, diſtrufteſt by foreigners, and betrayed by that very Prince in whoſe cauſe he had ſuffered, brought on the melancholy which was obſerved in him towards the end of his reign.

The following three letters from Lord Preſton, concerning the King's indignation at Falifſeau, the perſon who had ſome years before been ſent by the whig party to form meaſures with the French court, are in Lord Preſton's copy book of letters.

*Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—King Charles re-
fuſes to receive Falifſeau as envoy, who had formerly been
ſent by the whig party to the French court.—In Mr.
Graham's poſſeſſion.*

S I R, Paris, December 16, S. N. 1682.

“ M O N S. Spanheim, the envoy of Brandenbourg,
drawing me aſide yeſterday, told me that he had
of late been very uneaſy, with the apprehenſion that his
Majeſty may have an ill opinion of him for the part
which he hath ſeemed to have borne in the buſineſs of
Monſ. Falifſeau, and that the great honour he hath al-
ways

ways testified for him, and the great obligations which he hath to him, do oblige him to endeavour to justify and clear himself from having any design contrary to his service in whatever he hath done in that affair. He said, that when he was in England, the Elector, his present master, writ to him to find out a man, who would weekly give him a good account of what passed there, and that he would allow him a good pension for it. That accordingly he recommended one Mr. Eglington, who for some time continued to write; but his news being generally not very authentic, and often very stale, he was ordered to discharge him, and to find out another who might correspond more exactly and more faithfully with him. He then cast his eyes upon Mons. Falisseau, as one qualified to give the Elector satisfaction on this matter, he having also a year before recommended him to him as one capable of serving him at home. It is true, he said, that when he named him, he assured him he had known him in that employment, but that he had no dependance on any one; and that for himself, he had had no manner of habitudes or familiarity ever with any person in whose service he had been. Mons. Falisseau embracing the proposal, continued to write to Berlin for eight months entire, in which time the elector was so well satisfied with his advices, that he wrote him word, he was resolved to make him his resident in England, so far was he from being the first mover of this thing. It could not then be imagined, he said, that he should be sent thither as an incendiary under the protection of a character, the Elector, his master, never having concerned himself in the intrigues of any court, it being also an instruction to all his ministers which he sent abroad, not to be of any cabals, or to countenance any factions in the court where they reside. He said more, that he found by his letters, that his Majesty would be moved
again

again in this affair, and desired to receive the credentials of Mons. Falisseau. That the Elector was concerned at what had passed, and thought, that he not being born a subject of England, could not well be refused as a minister there, without some good cause assigned. However, he was very sure, that he being owned once one, if his Majesty had the least occasion to be dissatisfied with his conduct, upon intimation of it, he would forthwith be recalled. I answered, that I had heard what had passed concerning that person in England, but that I had not much enquired why he was not owned as the Elector's resident; but perhaps the same reason that had obliged his Majesty to refuse him at first, might still be strong against his receiving of him now. He said, he hoped not; and that though he had no order to speak this to me, yet he was very glad of the opportunity of justifying himself in some measure in this matter to me."

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Charles orders Falisseau to leave the kingdom.

S I R,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

"M O N S. Spanheim took an occasion again yesterday to speak to me on the affair of Mons. Falisseau, he having received an account from England of his Majesty's last orders to him to depart the kingdom, as also the copies of the letters which passed betwixt the King and the Elector, which, I suppose, were transmitted to him from Berlin: By the favour of Mr. Blathwayte I was also advised of what had passed, and had also the copies of those letters which enabled me the better to justify the reasons which his Majesty had to do what was innocent; however, he could have wished that his Majesty would not have expressed his resentment so suddenly against Falisseau, upon the receipt of the Elector's letter.

I an-

I answered, that he had more reason to be satisfied with the civility and respect which his Majesty had expressed to the Elector on the proceeding, because that whilst he bore the character of his resident, he was suffered to continue in England purely out of that consideration, though the reasons were, at that time, as strong for sending him away as now, and was never ordered to depart the kingdom, till the Elector had, by his letter to his Majesty, declared that he had ordered him to desist from pressing to be acknowledged as his minister. He could not say much to this, but seemed to lay great blame upon the Imperial and Spanish ministers, as being the occasion of what had happened."

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—On the same subject.

S I R,

Paris, February 10, S. N. 1683.

"MONS. Spanheim yesterday, at Versailles, told me, that he was commanded by the Elector, his master, to acquaint me, that he was troubled that he had given a character to Mons. Falisseau, since he was a person so unacceptable to his Majesty; if he had known that he would not have been agreeable to him, he would by no means have sent him; and he desired me to assure his Majesty of this. He said further, that his Electoral Highness was troubled and surprised at one expression in his Majesty's last letter to him, which seemed to intimate that he had held correspondence with his disaffected subjects, and given them encouragement to continue in their disobedience; and did assure me in his name, and did desire me to do the same to his Majesty, that he never had had any commerce with them, and that he had given no commission to his minister to entertain it, nor that ever he would: But that he did not think fit to
answer

answer the letter, because it might occasion new disputes, and rather hinder than promote that good intelligence which he would endeavour to have with his Majesty. Monf. Spanheim also, upon his own account, made professions of service to his Majesty, having received great obligations and favours from him. I told him, I should not fail to represent what he had told me to the King, my master, who, I doubted not, had the same desire of living well with his Electoral Highness, and that he would be ready, upon any occasion, to make it appear. You will be pleased to let me know in your next, if his Majesty will have any thing said in return to Monf. Spanheim."

Charles was also informed by Lord Preston of the intrigues of Mr. Hampden, Mr. Montagu, and Dr. Burnet, in France at this time.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Mr. Hampden recommended by Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris.

S I R, Paris, January 20, S. N. 1683.

" I HAVE received the honour of two of yours, of January 1st, S. V. in answer to my letter concerning Mr. Hampden, and I most heartily thank you for it; you may be assured that I shall always acquaint you with any thing of consequence which comes within my knowledge, when I can ground my belief well. I own that at first sight, the circumstance of Mr. Hampden being recommended to the archbishop of Paris is a little unaccountable; but if you will consider that there is not a more intriguing man in the world than the archbishop, and also that he and father Le Chaise are employed under-hand to carry on all sorts of designs, as
well

well temporal as other, by this King's ministers; and also that there can be nothing of more advantage to their religion, than to keep on foot the disputes amongst the English protestants, and the divisions in our church, for which no persons are fitter than those of Mr. Hampden's principles; you will not find it strange that he should have been addressed to him: Besides you will imagine that things of this kind being not so much avowed, yet it would be a little too plain to have given him recommendations to Monsf. de Louvois or to Monsf. de Colbert. Upon the whole matter, I have much reason to believe that the thing is true."

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, January 2, S. N. 1683.

"I HAVE been endeavouring for some time to trace Mr. Hampden the younger in his travels through France, Swisserland and Germany, in all which places he hath been extremely industrious to vilify and misrepresent our governors and government, both in church and state, and here in particular he hath blown up the protestants, and given them strange impressions of the King and his ministers. At this, however, I should not have wondered much, because I know it is the principle of his family to hate their Prince, and to endeavour to ruin our monarchy. But I must confess I am surprised at this, with which I shall acquaint you, and which I certainly know to be true, and can prove it by one of undoubted worth, who had it from his own mouth, which is, that he had a letter of recommendation from Monsf. de Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris, and that he was at least four or five times with him during his stay here. This matter got wind amongst

the protestants, which made them entertain some suspicion of him, though before he was looked upon as one sent from heaven to save them. He hearing of this, was forced to own that he had such a letter, but that he did not visit the archbishop, but sent it by another hand. I must, Sir, speak the truth to you, and tell you that it is evident to him, who observeth the least, that the phanatic party is highly countenanced from hence, whatever may be pretended to the contrary; and that though the hand is at present invisible that keeps the breach open, yet in time the effect will shew its cause. I hint this, Sir, only to yourself: I confess I do not know what use you can make of it, more than that perhaps you will think fit to have an eye upon that gentleman, and that it may enable you to judge better of the proceedings of such men, who pretend to reform so very thoroughly as he and his party do, and also of their ends."

Lord Preston to the Lord M. of Halifax.—Former intrigues of Montagu, and present of Burnet with France.

My Lord,

Paris, Nov. 5, S. N. 1683.

"SINCE my last to your Lordship, I had some more lights concerning Mr. Montague, and I have them from an original hand, and I dare assure your Lordship of the truth of them. He did twice, during his stay here, desire to see this King in private, and twice it was refused to him, he being told the last time, that his most Christian Majesty did not think fit to see him at this time, when he had so good a correspondence with the King, our master, and when he, Mr. Montague, was so ill with him. When he could not obtain an audience, he then, by the same hand, desired to know, if he might not expect some money as a gratification, he
having

having at this time occasion for it. He was denied that also, which made him make more haste away than he designed to do at his arrival here. I am told he intends to leave my Lady Northumberland at Montpellier, and to pass the winter himself in Italy; at least he pretends this. I remember I took particular notice of the word *gratification*, when this thing was told me, and I desired to know if that was his term which he used, and the person who told me, assured me a second time that it was. It need not be observed to your Lordship, *that gratification pre-supposeth service*. I have, since I had this account, considered why Mr. Montague should have been treated worse than Dr. Burnet, and I can only think of these reasons for it. First, he cannot be so useful at this time as the doctor, who, if he be gone into England, may continue his former practices with the discontented party. In the next place, if Mr. Montague had had a reception, it could not have been excused so to the King, our master, as that of Dr. Burnet was by his most Christian Majesty, pretending not to know his character and circumstances. Or, perhaps, another reason might be, the present scarcity of money here, where they are begun to retrench in all sorts of expences. It is a question now often asked at this court in confidence, whether there has been really any such thing as a late conspiracy in England? Which I take to be one effect of the doctor's late conversation here."

Two years after this, Lord Preston, in a letter to King James, dated April 28, 1685, to be printed in the Appendix to the next book, treats it as a thing known, that France had had pensioners in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles the II^d, against the interest of that Prince.

Charles received yet a more mortifying stroke, for Lord Preston gave him intelligence that there had been a design in France, though afterwards stopped, to make his secret negotiations with the Dutchess of Orleans public. The circumstances of it are as follow :

It is known from English history, that Charles had been much pressed by Lord Halifax and Lord Keeper North, to call a parliament after the dissolution of his last one. In the Depot there is a letter from the Duke of York in Scotland, dated 27—17 November, 1681, to Barillon, lamenting and complaining, that the King, in answer to a memorial from Van Beuningen, the Dutch Ambassador, had promised to call a parliament ; And it appears from Barillon's dispatches, that France, as well as the Duke of York, was alarmed with the fear of Charles's calling a parliament. The power of discovering the original secret treaty, made at Dover in the year 1669, had given Louis a great superiority over Charles, because it laid that Prince at his mercy. One of Barillon's letters, dated 3d July 1680, to his own court, mentions that he had got a discretionary power to threaten Charles with that discovery, and " to regard this expedient as a stroke of thunder, which it is proper to make use of in extreme necessity." I did not find in any of the papers at Versailles that the French court gave orders to make a discovery of Charles's secret negotiations with his sister. But the three following letters from Lord Preston, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession, make it not improbable that they did intend it, at the time when they were afraid of Charles's being persuaded to call a new parliament.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Abbot Primi's book about Charles's secret negotiations with the Dutchess of Orleans, intended to have been published by the French ministry.

S I R,

Paris, July 22, S. N. 1682.

“**L**'Abbé Primi, an Italian, having lately written, in his own language, an history of the late wars of this King, did the last week, at court, begin to present some copies of it, and amongst other persons did give one to Mons. de Croissy; who the same day taking occasion to look upon the book, fell by chance upon that part of it, in which he speaks of the negotiations with England. He carried the book to the council, and having made a report to the King, in what manner Primi had spoken of those negotiations, he seemed to be extremely surpris'd, and his Majesty then gave order, that he should be immediately arrested and sent to the Bastile, as he then was, where he now remains, and that his papers should be seized, and all the copies of his book suppress'd, which was done accordingly; but, however, some of them are dispers'd abroad, though I cannot yet, by any means, get one of them to send to you, but I have obtained liberty to transcribe a passage out of it which concerns England most, which I send inclos'd to you to shew his Majesty. The history of this Abbé Primi (as near as I can inform myself), is this: He came to the court some years since, upon no other account than to tell fortunes; he pretending great skill in physiognomy and palmistry, and under that pretext, he insinuated himself much into the company of the ladies, and amongst the rest, he became very particularly acquainted with Madame la Comtesse de Soissons. After some time, he thought that writing the history of this

King

King and his actions would be a very good way of making his court; having also that prospect which others of his countrymen have, of succeeding Monsr. l'Abbé Syri in his employ of historiographer in the Italian tongue, for which he hath a pension of 1000 crowns. But he having no great stock of learning, nor being well acquainted with the elegancies of his own language, became acquainted with Monsr. de Rose, secretary of the cabinet, with Monsr. d'Angeau, and with l'Abbé de Choisy, which last was to translate his history into French. These his friends have obtained for him several gratifications from the King, which have also been given him upon account of his work. With these supplies he was enabled to make an impression of this book more than a year since, and hath shewed some parts of it to his friends, though he hath kept the first part of the history very close till he published it within these three days. Upon the first notice that I had of this book, I was resolved to have spoken to Monsr. de Croissy about it, but hearing at the same time that the author was in the Bastile, and that the copies were suppressed, I resolved to say nothing till I should have the commands of the King, my master, in it. It is, I am told, reported about this town, that the King, my master, having notice of this book, sent to the King here an account of it, and also desired that the writer of it might be secured. All that I say to it is, that I do not believe the King, my master, hath yet seen or heard of the book, but that I do not doubt, but when he doth, he will demand satisfaction against the writer, finding himself so injuriously and basely treated, and so impudently abused by a false and mercenary scribbler. If the King will have any thing done in this matter, I shall be ready to obey his commands. However, I think it my duty to give you as early notice as I can of any thing which may reflect

reflect upon my master or the government, as this doth. (Here follows in cypher) *I am afraid this book is written with a design to disturb us, and if any thing can make some people madder than they are, this will. 'Tis said some copies are gone into England, doubtless to be reprinted there; therefore it would do well to have an eye upon the press.*

Three things are very observable in this matter.

I. *He hath had a pension upon the account of writing of history.*

II. *He says he had memoirs from the ministers by order.*

III. *The liberty of printing the book was obtained by an extraordinary way; for the Chancellor ordered the privilege to be expedited at the request of the friends of the author, pretending never to have read it."*

Lord Preston to the Earl of Clarendon.—To the same purpose.

My Lord,

Paris, July 20, 1682.

"**I** HAVE sent to your Lordship by my brother that insolent book of Abbé Primi's, which though disavowed now, was certainly printed with the good leave of this court, but the man had the misfortune to publish it unseasonably. For it was calculated for a parliament, and so came out too soon, which obliged the ministry here to shew some resentment. And I will only desire your Lordship to peruse the licence at the end of the history, and then I will ask you, if you ever saw one more full and ample in your life. I could not get you the Italian one, but have sent you the translation, which is not near so full as the original. I could not get another in Paris; and when you have done with it, be pleased to shew it to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

I believe

I believe it will be soon printed in Holland ; it was re-printing at Geneva, and I got notice of it, and acquainted Monsieur de Croissy with it, and desired that orders might be taken to suppress it, which I hope is done."

Extract letter Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

Paris, December 16, 1682.

"**L**'Abbé Primi is lately set at liberty, and as I am very sure, hath a pension settled upon him, and a sum of ready money given him now."

The situation of King Charles was the more uneasy at the end of his reign, on account of the miserable disorder in which his domestic finances were involved. A pamphlet written by the late Mr. Carte, called *An Answer to the Bystander*, proves to a demonstration that Charles's revenue, even though it had been managed with œconomy, was inadequate to the expences of government ; and it is a very mean as well as false policy in an English parliament to starve an English King. But besides this, the careless character of King Charles, and that of many of those around him, who formed their characters on his, prevented this revenue, inadequate as it was, from going so far as it ought to have done. A Prince who depends upon his people, to be happy must be frugal.

Among Lord Keeper North's papers, in the possession of Doctor North, there is the following account, written by his Lordship, of the disorders in the management of King Charles's revenue.

An account of divers signal frauds in the conduct and disposition of the public revenues in the time of Charles the II^d, by reason of his remissness, which turned vastly to the loss of himself and the nation.—Written by Lord Keeper North.

I. In the Treasury.

It is a true saying, an empty treasury and a rich treasurer. For when there is a full exchequer, there can be no pretences to delay payment, and there will be no extraordinary applications; all things go on even and just; and the King buys cheaper than other men, because he buys more; and if he doth not, officers may be justly named that buy for him, and are without excuse.

But when there wants money, and men crowd to be payed first, give great gratuities for preference, cannot tell when they are abused, and so cannot complain, consequently they must sell dearer, and they who are entrusted to buy, having a pretence to make a bigger price than the market, do allow greater than needs and take gratuities, and presume they shall excuse themselves by want of credit.

The guards solicit for want of pay. The gentleman who is paymaster offers, if they will allow 12*d.* per pound, he will save them the trouble of soliciting, and pay them punctually. Sir Stephen Fox.

The King wants money to do it. The same person offers, if he may have good security and 8*per cent.* he will supply the occasion. He borrows money at 6 and 5, nay by credit of the cash is trusted with other men's running cash without interest, and so makes greater advantage than any officer in England.

Richard
Kent the
cashier.

Another offers to lend a great sum of money to pay off clamorous debts that lye upon the customs, so that they are anticipated for a great time, and no ready money to be expected. He finds out the creditors, and gives them his own security at time, or buys their debts beforehand. To secure him, he is made cashier of the customs, and only advanceth with one hand to receive with the other.

Charles
Duncomb.

The same device serves for other branches of the revenue.

Guy,
Lonndes,
&c.

The clerks and officers know what is likely to be ordered for payment of any great debt, and give out things to make it desperate, get the order revoked for that purpose, or any other way mortify the creditors, then buy the bills at one half per cent. Many times this advantage is got by intelligence only. Making of debts very bad is very profitable, for they may be bought in very cheap, and the King may be persuaded to pay them. The treasurer who knows this may find his account in it; for the leeches will pay for favour.

Earl Dan-
by, Lonndes
and the
Bertyes.

Earl of Southampton's profit lay in disposing of offices when he was treasurer. The King gives 8000 *l.* per annum in lieu of it. And afterwards the Lord treasurers have the 8000 *l.* per annum and recommend also, and it is necessary they should recommend.

Earl of
South-
ampton.

Tin was at 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent. an endeavour was for a pre-emption by the act; 80,000 weight of tin was bought. But the act did not pass, then this tin was the King's, and he was fain to sell it for loss. And before it was the King's, the coinage was stopped to make tin dear; but that not doing it was the King's loss.

II. In the Wardrobe.

It is a way in the wardrobe to get debts allowed as payed without vouchers by extraordinary warrant, and before

before the persons concerned know of it, to buy them at half price, by persuading them they are desperate. Whenever debts are vendible, the buyers procure or shew hard usage to make them cheap.

The Earl of Southampton, Master of the Wardrobe, died 30,000 *l.* in debt to several people who gave credit to the office ; for he had received money to pay them. By his great merit his son gets to be pardoned all accounts, and so the heir and the lands became free. The creditors petitioned the King to be paid, but could not obtain it, because they had been already provided for by sending money to the office.

III. In Farms.

Men will be commissioners of the revenue, and manage all, that they may farm to advantage. They will take their farms in the name of beggars that the covenants to the King may be invalid.

IV. By Officers.

Old officers couzen, and then it is said to be worth while to check them by having a new officer for the purpose. And in a short time he comes into the confederacy. And then it is a new charge without benefit. Or they will say that if their salary be mended there will be no need. But when that is done, they cheat again afresh.

A man in office fit for employment begs leave to sell his office, and then is discontent for a new one, being destitute of employment.

Men will have employments who will spend more than their profit, and then make account the King owes them what they spend as for service, and therefore they must have other employments, so sea captains, ambassadors, &c. and to oblige noblemen, governments must be made

very chargeable, Jamaica, Virginia, &c. ; whereas they would be better governed when cheaper.

The great offices of the butlerage and impost were paid out of the rent of the prisage duty, and perhaps 500 *l.* per annum only reserved out of which they were paid. But this 500 *l.* per annum was begged away, and they left in the lurch deservedly.

Old officers of the household are obsolete ; so new officers are entrusted for personal diligence, and afterwards the place continues. Thus is the treasurer of the household and the master of the jewel house supplanted by the cofferer and by the treasurer of the chamber, &c. And diverse others by the bed-chamber men. These changes at court and the reason of them were worth a history.

When the King is bent to put in a man for merit against the liking of his favourites, they will persuade the Prince it is better to keep the place void ; there are enough besides ; there needs no filling it ; and so on ; till they can incline the Prince to bestow it as they please.

When men cannot prevail on good natured Princes to remove commissioners, their way is to make supernumeraries so many, that of necessity they must be reduced, and upon the reducing them they in whose province it is may put out whom they please.

If a man be an enemy to the thing for the person's sake, and the Prince be for the person but will be advised of the thing ; find a person grateful to the opposer, and that will allay him, and it may be make him promote it, and when he is engaged it may be turned to the old person.

Never let the merit of the person prevail to have a thing done, that ought not to be, for who set upon such projects, will never want persons of interest to press upon that score ; and no stop can ever be put to such grants.

Princes should make establishments according to their own occasions, and not keep up useless charges. King
James

James affected hunting and hawking, and had more officers relating to that than needed in another King's reign; and yet they were kept up.

If there be an invention of sheathing with lead, or healing guns; take in partners, those who are to contract and to pay; so you may not only have fourteen years monopoly, but which is much better, the King will use it for his fleet; and although it be the worse way, or not worth the cost, the arts of court and interest will prevail.

Pretences to avails and fees grow insensibly to great absurdity, even against common sense, as that Woodwards shall have all windfall and dotard trees, and Farrier all incurable horses, and the like; and that whatever is presented belongs to them that wait. This discourages the giver; and the other encourageth knavery,

L. Hales.
Sir John
Chiefly.
Earl of
Shaftesbury. Prince
Rupert. 60
per cent.
16 reduc-
ed.

V. In Pensions.

All men are against keeping up useless pensions. But when they fall, one or other that hath the power to get his friend into a place, for his sake keeps up the pension.

The Lord Chief Justice of Wales hath a pension, because he doth not practise: After him a man that hath interest, who doth practise, gets the place, and hath the pension continued, his companion being a favourite.

Sir Job
Charlton.
Sir George
Jeffereys,

George Johnson gets a pension likewise, and sells the place with the pension; so the King gives a pension to be sold, and it must be continued because it is bought.

The masters of chancery must have pensions, that they may be men of worth; and they buy and sell their places; so that the pension comes but to augment the price, and mends not the quality of the office at all.

6. By Boons and Grants.

The King allowed 100*l.* per annum out of the customs at Lime in Dorsetshire, for maintenance of the cobb

Mr. Ellef-
den.

(that is, mole) there. This was begged by Mr. Ellefden, a neighbour to the town.

Sir Robert
Holmes.

It was said that the fee farm rents of the Isle of Wight, and necessary to the government there, for the support of it, must not be sold. And the governor, Sir Robert Holmes, opposed the selling them for the sake of the government; and afterwards he begged them himself.

Sir Robert
Carr.
Sir Thomas
Chiefly.

Sir Robert Carr, the chancellor of the Duchy, begs 8 or 900*l.* per annum of the Duchy rents. Then Sir Thomas Chiefly begs all the arrears of the revenue in the name of Mr. Windham, amounting to 3000*l.*; so the revenue was to be let run into arrear on purpose to be begged. He would have been farmer of the whole revenue to make it maintain the officers, and thereby have had all the casualties himself, as if the Duchy were only to maintain the officers. Sure it were better to have the revenue annexed to the crown.

How is it possible for a Prince to be out of debt, when it is the interest of all about him to have him in debt; and when it is so natural and easy to run in debt; and when it is a crime to persuade him to be out of debt? For the parliament builds upon the needs of the crown.

Sometimes a knave gets to be a receiver, or by some other means in the King's debt, and gets what he can and hides; then, if he be in favour, pleads inability to pay. This must presently be begged as a desperate debt; and he underhand procures it for an easy composition.

The sure way for debts to be paid, is to have such a contract, that what he (the receiver) binds himself shall be paid before tallies, and then when a debt comes to be paid, he can set it further off at pleasure. This is said
Mr. Kent. to be at the custom-house.

It has been an old trick of officers, to pretend to take no care of debts contracted before their own time, which makes applications warm, but is unjust, and destroys the
Prince's

Prince's credit : For the change of officers is at his pleasure and more hazardous than life.

VII. In the Navy and Stores.

Chief commanders to the Straits command more stores out of the storeship than needs ; the captain takes less, and the master of the stores sells the rest to the King again, and passeth his account according to bills and acquittances, and not according to actual delivery. Quære, What other ways they have to make such advantages ?

The master of the stores, when there is great confidence with others, will give receipts for more than he actually receives, and the profit is divided. The remedy is best, by shifting masters, or frequent inventories, but especially by spies that may betray them, so as that they may not trust any one.

Old Mr.
Foley.

The Earl of Essex would have sold timber to the King ; but the commissioners of the navy, or Sir Anthony Diar, would not deal with him. But he was fain to sell it to Sir Charles Bickerstaff, who was their customer ; and he sold it after to the King. The reason is plain why they will not deal with any but acquaintances.

Sir Charles
Bickerstaff.

The King's works must not be done by the great, but by the day ; and reasons are found for it, that it may be dearer : And therefore, they work lazily, purloin, go by the bell, and leave off at the stroke of the first sound, as if there was peril in the proceeding. This is not only to the King's loss, but prejudicial to the neighbourhood, that cannot have labourers diligent ; and this charge also becomes the means of contracts by the great.

VIII. In the Public Money.

It hath been a plausible thing to have the mint go gratis, and so a great deal of money will be coined ; and as a good effect of this, lists of great sums of money coined,

coined, are produced. But it is a great charge upon the government; for, by some artifice, careless coining is produced of pieces, which, though not equal one with the other, put together in great quantities, shall answer weight. Then do the persons (not to say the goldsmiths) who brought in the bullion, take the weighty pieces and melt them down, and return them to the mint *toties quoties*, &c.; whence it becomes a great policy to make the coin pay for the workmanship, and more to prevent melting, which will be practised, if money be cheaper than bullion.

The people, no question, who receive so much clipped money will endure it. But they who make this unjust profit, will clamour at any such regulation. Collect then the wisdom of antiquity, that went this way to work, and that forbade the taking of any clipped or counterfeit money."

In the *Depot* at Versailles, there is the following dispatch, which gives a very minute account of Charles the Second's behaviour in his last moments.

Translation.

Mr. Barillon to the King.—Particular account of the death of Charles the Second.

February 18, 1685.

THE letter I do myself the honour to write to your Majesty to-day is only to give you an exact account of what happened of most importance at the death of the King of England. His illness, which began on Monday morning the 12th of February, had diverse changes the following

following days ; sometimes he was thought out of danger, and then something happened that made it judged his disorder was mortal : In fine, on Thursday 15 February about noon, I was informed from a good quarter, that there were no hopes, and that the physicians believed he could not hold out the night. I went immediately to Whitehall : The Duke of York had given orders to the officers who guarded the door of the anti-chamber to let me pass at any hour : He was continually in the King his brother's room : From time to time he came out to give orders upon what was passing in the town. The report was more than once spread that the King was dead. As soon as I arrived, the Duke of York said to me, " The physicians think the King in extreme danger : I desire you to assure your master, that he shall always have in me a faithful and grateful servant." I was five hours in the King's anti-chamber. The Duke of York made me come into the bed-chamber several times, and spoke to me of what was passing without doors, and of the assurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he should be proclaimed King the moment the King his brother was dead. I went out for some time to go to the Duchess of Portsmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief, the physicians having taken all hopes from her : However, instead of speaking to me of her affliction, and the loss she was on the point of sustaining, she went into a small closet, and said to me, " Monsieur the ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The King of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic ; but he is surrounded with Protestant bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, or speaks to him of God : I cannot with decency enter the room, besides that the Queen is almost constantly there ; the Duke of York thinks of

VOL. I. * U his

his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the King's conscience: Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the King's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will. Lose no time; for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late."

I returned instantly to find the Duke of York, and begged him to make a pretence of going to the Queen, who had left the King's room, and who having fainted, was just blooded. The room communicated with both apartments: I followed him to the Queen's, and told him what the Duchess of Portsmouth said to me. He recovered himself as from a deep lethargy, and said, "You are in the right: There is no time to lose. I will hazard all rather than not do my duty on this occasion." An hour after, he returned, under the same pretence of going to the Queen, and told me he had spoken to the King his brother, and found him resolved not to take the sacrament, which the Protestant Bishops had pressed him to receive; that this had surprised them much, but that one or other of them would remain always in the room, if he did not find a pretence to make every body leave it, in order that he might have an opportunity of speaking to the King his brother with freedom, and disposing him to make a formal renunciation of heresy, and confess himself to a Catholic Priest.

We thought of various expedients. The Duke of York proposed that I should ask leave to speak to the King his brother, to tell him something in secret from your Majesty, and that every body should go out. I offered to do so; but represented to him, that besides the great rumour it would make, there was no likelihood of my being allowed to remain in private with the King of England and himself long enough for what we had to do. The Duke of York then bethought himself of sending for the Queen, as if it

had

had been to take her last farewell, and ask pardon of the King, if she had ever in any thing disobeyed him, who was on his part to return the same ceremony to her. At last the Duke of York resolved to speak to the King his brother in presence of the company, yet so as no person might hear what he said to him; because this would remove all suspicion, and it would be believed that he spoke to him only of affairs of state, and of what he wished to be done after his death. Thus, without any further precaution, the Duke of York stooped down to the King his brother's ear, after having ordered that no one should approach. I was in the room, and more than 20 persons at the door, which was open. What the Duke of York said was not heard; but the King of England said from time to time very loud, *Yes, with all my heart*. He sometimes made the Duke of York repeat what he said, because he did not easily hear him. This lasted near a quarter of an hour. The Duke of York again went out as if he had gone to the Queen, and said to me, "The King has consented that I should bring a priest to him; but I dare not bring any of the Dukes's: They are too well known: Send and find one quickly." I told him I would do it with all my heart, but I believed too much time would be lost; and that I had just seen all the Queen's priests in a closet near the chamber. He said, You are right. At the same time he perceived the Earl of Castlemethor, who with warmth embraced the proposal made him, and undertook to speak to the Queen: He came back in an instant, and said, "Should I hazard my head in this, I would do it with pleasure; but I do not know one of the Queen's priests who understands or speaks English." On this we resolved to send to the Venetian resident for an English priest; but as the time pressed, the Earl of Castlemethor went where the Queen's priests were, and found amongst them one Hudelston a Scotch-

man, who saved the King of England after the battle of Worcester, and who by act of parliament had been excepted from all the laws made against the catholics, and against the priests : They put a wig and gown on him to disguise him, and the Earl of Castlemethor conducted him to the door of an apartment that joined by a small step to the King's chamber. The Duke of York, to whom I had given notice that all was ready, sent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudelston : Soon after, he said aloud, " The King wills that every body should retire, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham : " The first was lord of the bed-chamber, and the other was in waiting. The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was immediately shut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudelston in. The Duke of York, in presenting him, said, " Sire, here is a man who saved your life, and is now come to save your soul." The King answered, " He is welcome." He afterwards confessed himself with great sentiments of devotion and repentance. The Earl of Castlemethor had taken care to have Hudelston instructed by a Portuguese Monk of the barefooted Carmelites, in what he had to say to the King on such an occasion ; for of himself he was no great doctor ; but the Duke of York told me he acquitted himself very well in his function, and that he made the King formally promise to declare himself openly a Catholic, if he recovered his health. He then received absolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction : All this lasted about three quarters of an hour. In the anti-chamber, every one looked at another ; but nobody said any thing but by their eyes, and in whispers. The presence of Lord Bath and Lord Feversham, who are Protestants, has satisfied the bishops a little ; but the Queen's women, and the other priests, saw so much going and coming, that I do not think the secret can be long kept.

After

After the King of England received the communion, his disorder became a little better : It is certain he spoke more intelligibly, and had more strength. We hoped that God was willing to work a miracle by restoring him ; but the physicians judged his illness was not abated, and that he could not outlive the night. He nevertheless appeared much more easy, and spoke with more feeling and understanding than he had done, from ten at night to eight in the morning. He often spoke quite aloud to the Duke of York, in terms full of tenderness and friendship. He twice recommended to him the Dukes of Portsmouth and the Duke of Richmond. He recommended to him also all his other children. He made no mention of the Duke of Monmouth good nor bad. He often expressed his confidence in the mercy of God. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was his chaplain, read some prayers, and spoke to him of God. The King shewed by his head that he heard him. The Bishop was not officious in saying any thing particular to him, or proposing that he should make a profession of his faith. He was apprehensive of a refusal ; but feared still more, as I believe, to irritate the Duke of York.

He had seen him a little before in private ; and the Duke returned to Holland,

The King of England was perfectly sensible the whole night, and spoke upon all things with great calmness. At six o'clock in the morning he asked what hour it was, and said, " Open the curtains, that I may once more see day." He suffered great pain ; and at seven o'clock they bled him, in hopes it might lessen his pain. At half an hour after eight, he began to speak with great difficulty : At ten his senses were quite gone ; and he died at noon without any struggle or convulsion. The new King retired to his apartment, was unanimously acknowledged, and then proclaimed.

I thought it my duty to give your Majesty an exact account of what passed on this occasion ; and I esteem myself

myself happy that God granted me the favour to have some part in it. I am, &c.

Notwithstanding that Charles the Second, during more than two thirds of his reign, acted against the general inclinations of his subjects, yet he died extremely lamented by them. It is not impossible that the following stroke of his character in the manuscript notes of the Earl of Dartmouth upon Bishop Burnet's History, may account for this.

“ I was told by one that was very conversant with him, that he had a constant maxim, never to fall out with any body, let the provocation be never so great, which he said he had found great benefit by all his life. And the reason he gave for it was, that he did not know how soon it might be necessary to have them again for his best friends.

B O O K II.

TEMPER of the Nation. — The King's Declaration. — His Situation with regard to his former Opponents. — First Steps of his Reign. — New Ministry. — Coronation. — Situation of the King with regard to the Prince of Orange. — Argyle's and Monmouth's Preparations in Holland. — Argyle's Expedition. — Monmouth's Manifesto. — His first Movements. — Declared King. — His Delays, and Retreat. — His Defeat. — Account of his Letters to the King. — His Interview with the King. — His Execution. — Proceedings of Parliament. — Proceedings in Scottish Parliament. — Temper of Scotland. — Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffreys.

NO Prince ever mounted the throne of England, whose first measures of government ingrossed more the public attention than those of James the Second. The influence which he was supposed to have had over the spirit of the late King; his continual habit of business, partly the effect of his temper, but more of his situation; the animosity of parties concerning him; and the various turns of his fortune, who had been twice near excluded from the throne by a party which hated him, and thrice banished from his country by a brother who loved him; had placed him, during many years of the late reign, in a more conspicuous point of view than even the Sovereign himself. The exclusionists expected now little mercy from a King to whom they had shewn none when he was a subject. The dissenters

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

Temper of
the nation
at James's
accession.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

dissenters had felt the severity of councils which were imputed to him. Even some of the tories watched with anxious minds his first steps in civil, and still more of them his first steps in religious concerns. Those who had no fixed principles of party of their own, and who, even in nations the most zealous in politics, make a great part of the people, having had their curiosity awakened, and their passions inflamed in the late reign, by reciprocal complaints of invasions upon the constitution, which the royal and the popular parties had thrown upon each other, and by the continual rumours of popish and of protestant plots, stood full of expectation to see or hear, and relate the earliest movements of the new reign.

James's declaration.

The first measures of James after the death of his brother, were calculated to allay those ferments in the minds of his subjects. Having assembled the privy council, he made the following speech, magnanimous in its sentiments, simple in its expressions :—" My Lords, before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a King, as well as so very kind a brother, it is proper for me to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his example, and particularly in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man fond of arbitrary power; but that is not the only falsehood which hath been reported of me : And I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the church of England are favourable to monarchy; and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make

“ the King as great a monarch as I can wish : And, as
 “ I shall never depart from the just rights and preroga-
 “ tive of the crown, so I shall never invade any man’s
 “ property. I have often before ventured my life in de-
 “ fence of this nation ; and shall go as far as any man
 “ in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties.”—

PART I.

BOOK II.

1684.

These popular words were followed by a more popular action. James ordered a new parliament to be summoned : Another prudent order was issued, directing all persons to continue in their offices ; by which the transition of government became imperceptible, and the new reign appeared to be no more than a continuation of the former.

The King’s declaration to his council had all the effect which he intended. The council begged it might be published : It was dispersed all over the nation : Communities expressed their satisfaction by addresses, individuals by mutual congratulations : Even the pulpits resounded with its praises. From the steadiness of temper which attached James to his religious principles, an equal attachment to the promises contained in his declaration was inferred. The hearts of men overflowed now so much the more with love and confidence, because they had before been locked up in fears and jealousies. Even the exclusionists crowded to the palace, awkwardly mingling condolence for the loss of the late King with joy for the accession of his successor. In proportion as any of them reflected upon the activity of his former opposition, he endeavoured, by the early court which he paid, to wipe off the remembrance of it in James. The usual compliments of respect paid to every new sovereign by his subjects of condition, with the usual gracious returns to those compliments, diffused an appearance of satisfaction through the court, while the attention to magnificent trifles preparatory to a coronation, spread an air of unconcern and festivity through the capital.

Apparent
cordiality
between
James and
his subjects.

Vol. I.

* X

Yet,

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

Symptoms
of mutual
distrust.

Yet, amidst these outward appearances of general satisfaction, James could not help behaving to many of the exclusionists, who came to wait upon him, with a visible displeasure. Some of them he refused to see; others were received coldly; and a few even with frowns: Impotent marks of disgrace to men of independent fortunes, of high birth, and higher spirits. He refused to give Montagu his hand to kiss, saying, he could forgive injuries done to himself, but not to his brother. He removed the Duke of Richmond, son to the Duchess of Portsmouth, from his station of master of the horse, conferred by his father upon him from his tenderest years. His reception of Lord Halifax was differently talked of, according to the different humours of men. For, when this Lord, who had opposed the exclusion with great eloquence, but had also opposed the Duke's influence at the end of the late reign, was making apologies to James for the latter part of his conduct; that Prince, interrupting him, said, "I will forget all your behaviour, except that in the affair of the exclusion;" A compliment which discovered delicacy and gratitude; but which alarmed some, who observed that it discovered remembrance of the event to which it alluded. But James's remembrance of past injuries became less ambiguous, when he ordered Sprat Bishop of Rochester to publish a relation of the Ryehouse plot under the royal authority. This relation was written with great virulence of expression upon past heats; and in it an averment was made, that James knew of 20,000 persons who had been engaged in that plot: An implied menace, which, by the ambiguity of its object, caused every whig in the nation to think it was levelled at him. James, soon after, in his letter to the Parliament of Scotland, and in an answer to the address of the House of Lords in England, spoke of past offences in a way which discovered that the King of England had not forgot the injuries done to the Duke of York.

James

James behaved still more unguardedly with regard to religion in the very beginning of his reign: He ordered Huddleston, the priest who had attended the late King in his last moments, to publish a relation of that Prince's having taken the last sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. James published, in his own name, two papers written in his brother's hand, in favour of the Roman catholic doctrines; and was at pains to declare, he had found them in the royal strong box. He shewed them to Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, who said, "That he did not think the late King had been so learned in controversy; but that the arguments in the papers were easy to refute." James desired him to do so in writing, if he could. But Sancroft, with a politic compliment, answered, "It ill became him to enter into a controversy with his sovereigns." James changed his former custom of going privately to mass: For, on the first Sunday after his accession, he went publicly, and with all the ensigns of royalty, to the celebration of a ceremony which the laws of the kingdom had declared to be criminal. Many were offended with the public spectacle of the King's religion, who had long heard with indifference of his profession. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the door of the chapel: The King passing him, said, "My Lord, your father would have gone further." The Duke answered, "Your Majesty's father would not have gone so far." Soon after, the King having complained to Kenne Bishop of Bath and Wells, of a reflection which he was told the Bishop had made against popery, in a sermon in the chapel-royal, "Sir," answered Kenne, "had you attended your own duty in church, my enemies had missed the opportunity of accusing me falsely."

The discontents which the observation of these things produced, were increased by the first public act of state.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

Imprudencies with regard to religion.

Customs and excise levied without law.

* X 2

Those

Those branches of the revenue which consisted of the customs, and of part of the excise, having been granted by parliament during the life of the late King only, expired at his death. There was little doubt that the next parliament would renew the grant to his successor; but still, until that renewal should be made, it was against law to levy the duties. Many of the London merchants, who at that time had goods on hand, waited on the commissioners of customs, intreating that the duties might be levied as formerly, in order to prevent their being undersold by those who should make importations before the parliament could be assembled. The commissioners, who saw their own danger in ordering their officers to levy duties without law, waited in a body upon the treasury, to know what conduct they were to follow. The treasury, which saw equal danger in directing that conduct, made answer to the commissioners, "That the laws lay before them, and they might judge for themselves." The difficulty was carried to the privy council. Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, with the haste and violence natural to his temper and habits, moved, "That the King should instantly issue a proclamation, commanding the revenue to be levied, and employed as in the former reign." Lord Keeper North advised, "That the duties should be paid in to exchequer, and kept there separate from all others, until the next parliament should dispose of them." Others proposed, "That bonds only should be taken for the duties, to stand in force until the same period*." The opinion of Jeffreys was followed. The old remembered the civil wars and miseries brought on the nation by the attempts of the King's father to levy part of the very same duties without consent of parliament. The young had heard these miseries recounted by the old. Men of reflection perceived public conveniency promoted, but public liberty invaded.

* Life of Lord North, 254.

In order to cover this measure from national censure, the court procured addresses from many public bodies of the kingdom approving of it. The barristers and students of the Middle Temple, whose province it is to know the constitution, but whose profession is dependent, thanked the King, "That he had been graciously pleased to extend his royal care of the government to the preservation of the customs;" and concluded their address with a prayer, "That there might never be wanting millions as loyal as they, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in support of his Majesty's sacred person and prerogative, *in its full extent.*" The university of Oxford declared, "They could never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established in the church of England, which indispensably bound them to bear all faith and obedience to their Sovereign, *without any restrictions and limitations.*" Compliments by public bodies to the Sovereign for the breach of the laws, only served to remind the nation that the laws had been broken.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1684.

The suspicions which James's protestant subjects entertained of his partiality to the Roman catholics, gave room for Sunderland, in the settlement of the ministry, to exert his talents for intrigue. James, remembering ancient injuries, and distrusting recent services, had resolved to send him abroad upon an embassy. Sunderland got intelligence of this, and also that the king intended to appoint Hyde, lately created Earl of Rochester, High Treasurer, partly to oblige the church party, of which that Lord was vain to be accounted the head, and partly on account of decency, because he was uncle to the Princesses. But Sunderland, concealing from Rochester what he knew, pretended that he was managing that honour for him with the King, and at the same time alarmed him with the danger to which their common interests

New ministry.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1684.

terests were exposed from Roman Catholic influence: Rochester, in return, prevailed upon the King to continue the seals in Sunderland's hands. Rochester, whose high principles in church-matters led him to principles equally high in those of government, urged that none but rigid Tories should be admitted into the King's service: On this subject, a conversation between him and Lord Keeper North was repeated: North had said, that he thought people ought to be brought into employments, rather for their abilities and experience, than for their party attachments*: Rochester, raising his voice, answered, "God's wounds! my Lord, don't you think that in one month's time I could understand any business in England?" "Yes, my Lord," replied the other dryly, "but you could understand it much better in two." But Sunderland advised James to mix different humours in his council; and Ormond having returned from Ireland sooner than the late King had directed, Clarendon, brother to Rochester, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in his stead. Halifax, to whom Rochester was a mortal enemy, because he had been accused by Halifax of purloining the public treasure, was placed at the head of the council-board. Lord Godolphin was degraded from stations he had once possessed, of secretary of state and head of the treasury, to be chamberlain to the Queen. Arlington, notwithstanding the open court he had long paid to the Prince of Orange, was continued Lord Chamberlain. The other great officers remained in their stations. So that the ministry was composed chiefly of men hating each other, suspecting the King, and suspected by him; some of whom were partial to the views of the Prince of Orange, and others to his person. And indeed, the late King, by changing his ministers so often, had made it very difficult to find a number of per-

* Lord North's Life,

sons of figure who were attached to each other, and to his successor at the same time.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

Coronation.

During the coronation of James, the crown, not being properly fitted to his head, tottered. Henry Sidney, keeper of the robes, afterwards so famous for the mischiefs he brought upon James, kept it once from falling off, and said with pleasantry to him, "This is not the first time our family has supported the crown." It was reported too, that on the same day, the window of a church in which the King's arms were painted on glass, had fallen down without any visible cause. These trifles were observed and talked of at the time;—a sure proof that the minds of the people were under unusual agitations.

While these things were passing in public, James was underhand going on in his old practices with France. His first conversation, the day after his brother's death, to Barillon, was a sure prognostic of his future fate. He made a formal apology for having called a parliament, alleging in his excuse, that he did it only with a view to get his brother's revenue settled upon him by fair means, which, if he could not obtain from parliament, he would take from his subjects by force. He expressed at the same time his intention of reigning without parliaments, his arbitrary views of government, and his resolutions in favour of popery: And he proposed the strictest connection of interests with France, and that Louis should supply him with money to enable him to compass the ends which he aimed at. Louis the XIVth caught greedily at the hint. He instantly remitted 500,000 livres to Barillon, to be given to the new King to answer the exigencies of a new reign; but charged him to make James believe that the money had been sent upon the first news of his brother's death, and without knowing that he had asked it. James received the present with tears in his

The King's
secret practices with
France.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1684.

eyes, and with these words to Barillon : “ It is the part
“ of the King your master alone to act in a manner so
“ noble and so full of goodness to me. I own to you,
“ that I feel more sensibly what he has done in this, than
“ any thing that may happen to me in the course of my
“ life ; for I plainly see the bottom of his heart, and how
“ desirous he is that my affairs may prosper. He has
“ even outrun what I could possibly have wished, and has
“ prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge
“ such a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and
“ be my pledge for the attachment I shall for ever have
“ to him.”

Immediately after, the Lords Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, entered upon a negociation with Barillon ; and Churchill was dispatched to Paris on the same errand. The terms asked of Louis were, three millions of livres in hand, and a pension of two millions for two years besides ; Rochester urging strongly, Godolphin more faintly, the necessity of the King’s having these sums for establishing his power ; and Sunderland adding, that without them, it was impossible to establish the Roman catholic religion in England. Sunderland went still further ; for, to pay court to Louis and his master, he proposed a direct junction of England and France, against the Prince of Orange, the House of Austria, and the Parliament of England. Louis the XIVth kept the treaty open, gave James from time to time 300,000 livres more than the 500,000 livres which had been sent him at first, and remitted 1,500,000 livres to England. But Barillon received orders not to deliver them, unless in the event of James’s dissolving his parliament, and proceeding to extremities against his subjects ; Louis anticipating thus in imagination, the transports which the distractions of England give always to France.

Not-

Notwithstanding these secret transactions with France, the new ministers attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange. When the late King died, James, to mortify the Prince, had notified the event to him only in a few dry lines, and even excused himself to Barillon for having notified it to him at all *. The Prince upon this sent over Overkerque to make apologies for whatever had given offence to the late or present King, and to promise a strict obedience to the King's will for the future. James refused at first to receive his submissions, unless he would make them also to Louis, by altering his conduct with regard to France. However he afterwards softened his tone; to which perhaps the malignant satisfaction of seeing the Prince reduced to stoop and court him, contributed; and more decent appearances took place on both sides. For, as it was the interest of James to make the discontented part of his subjects believe that the Prince of Orange was attached to his person; so it was equally for the advantage of the Prince to be thought on good terms with the King, in order to support in Holland the reputation of his own power, and to raise jealousies in the mind of the French King. The Prince readily complied with the desire of his father-in-law, to remove Monmouth from Holland, to concur in persuading the Spaniards to refuse him refuge in Flanders, and to dismiss his adherents from their employment in the British regiments in the service of the Dutch †; though, at the same time, he took care to provide for most of them ‡ in the service of different German Princes. He even submitted to the recal of Mr. Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney, whom he loved, from the command of the British forces in the Dutch service, and to the appointment of Skelton, whom

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

Vain attempts to reconcile the King and the Prince of Orange.

Coldness between the King and Prince of Orange.

* Vide Appendix.

† D'Avaux, 1685.

‡ Ibid.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1684.

he hated, to be envoy in Holland, after remonstrating against both measures. But he refused with spirit to give the command of the troops to Lord Carlingford, a Roman catholic recommended by the King. James, on the other hand, offended with the delays of Louis in concluding the private money treaty with him, which he had solicited, took * some high measures on points of honour with the French, talking in public of taking still higher on more material articles, and proposed a defensive alliance with the Dutch, which he afterwards formed †, and a junction of interests with the Prince: And he even interposed, though in vain, with France, to restore the principality of Orange to the Prince. But as in these advances James's object was to maintain peace, that he might be independent of parliament for supplies, encourage commerce, of which he was fond, and, above all, procure leisure for the conversion of his subjects, which he was resolved to accomplish; and, on the other hand, the Prince's only object was to raise war against France,—the advances ended in nothing. The salvos which the Prince often made with regard to religion ‡, in the assurances of attachment which he gave, whether the effects of honour, or of the use he intended to make of them, James thought had an insidious air. Ancient enmities are often increased by attempts to remove them: And, while the King of England's subjects flattered themselves with an alliance of England and Holland against France, the King disclosed all his jealousies of the Prince of Orange to Barillon the French ambassador ||.

Earl of Ar-
gyle rous-
sionmouth.

But appearances of an invasion from Holland soon increased the jealousies of James. Argyle had continued in the Low Countries from the time that the sentence of attainder was obtained against him by the King, when

* D'Avauz, 1683; and Burnet.

† D'Avauz, 1685.

‡ Ibid. 1684, 1685.

|| Ibid. Vide Appendix, No. 1.

Duke of York. Monmouth had resided in the same countries, after the detection of the Rye-house-plot. The similarity of fate formed a connection between two persons in whose characters there was but little resemblance. Argyle, continually stung with the remembrance of his own injuries, endeavoured to inflame Monmouth with similar sentiments. He * pressed him to invade England, and offered to make an invasion on Scotland at the same time. He gave assurances, " That as he was himself the head of a numerous highland clan, and his father had been head of the covenanters, great numbers of his countrymen would join him : That the clemency which Monmouth had shewed to the covenanters after the battle of Bothwell-bridge, had made his name as dear in Scotland, as that of James, who had persecuted them, was odious : That in England, the same great body of exclusionists, who had joined to prevent the King from mounting the throne, would again join to pull him down : And that though, from the want of parliaments during the last years of the late reign, the voice of that party had not for some time been heard, it would now break forth with violence, increased by its interruption : That the late dismissal of his adherents from the Dutch regiments, insured him of a body of officers, stimulated by the two most powerful of all motives, revenge and want : That a Prince scarce seated on his throne, whose subjects were divided, and whose forces must be separated to oppose different insurrections, could not withstand a double attack from England and Scotland at one time." He pointed out to the Duke, who was fond of glory, the examples of ancient heroes, and the honour of having his name handed down to posterity as the deliverer of his country. He allured him, who was young, and fan-

* D'Avaux, March 12, 1684.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

guine in his friendships and resentments, by the sweets of revenge, and the power he could gain of doing good to those who had suffered for his sake. He took advantage of the hatred and competition usual among relations where friendship has ceased, to revive ancient, to create new animosities. He urged him by motives of his personal safety: "For that James, implacable in his resentments, and cruel through fear, had driven him from England, had prevailed upon the Prince of Orange, and the court of Spain, to refuse him a refuge in Holland, or in Flanders, and would never be at rest, until he had stript him of fortune, rank, and * perhaps of life. And, lastly, that every minute he delayed the attempt, he strengthened his enemy, and weakened himself." The Duke continued long irresolute: One of his letters † to Spence, secretary to the Earl of Argyle, shews, that, disappointed in ambition and dejected with misfortunes, he had resolved upon retirement. His tender passion for Lady Harriot Wentworth, and which he accounted it honourable to indulge for a woman who had sacrificed her all for his love, was ill suited to call him to the fields of glory and danger. But at length those importunities, and that eloquence, which, in one of a manly spirit, who speaks in his cause what he feels, seldom fails to persuade, made Monmouth, who all his life was more apt to trust the judgment of others than his own, yield to the intreaties of Argyle. Argyle persuaded a widow in Holland to lend him 10,000*l.* for his expedition. Monmouth, not having the same powers of persuasion, was obliged to pawn his jewels. Each of them bought three vessels, and a quantity of arms: They recalled some of their friends from the German regiments, in which the Prince of Orange had placed them; and they were joined by other disbanded officers, who had not as yet been

* Pere Orleans, lib. xi. p. 562.

† In Welwood.

provided

provided for *. They settled a correspondence in England †, as well as the shortness of the time would permit, with the most considerable persons who had been engaged in the Rye-house-plot. These were all the preparations they made for the conquest of three kingdoms. It does not appear certain, that they even adjusted between them, what character the Duke should assume, whether that of a King, or of a subject. Monmouth possibly resolved to govern himself by incidents according as they should present themselves; and Argyle was too much heated by his own interest and his country's, to attend to any other. Argyle sailed first, and for Scotland, with about 100 companions, of whom the most remarkable were Ayloff the lawyer, and Rumbold the maltster, men made famous by the parts they had acted in the Rye-house-plot. Monmouth prepared to follow him, and to land in the West of England with 82 officers, and 150 other attendants. Lord Grey, Sir Patrick Hume, and Mr. Fletcher of Salton, were the men of the most eminence who attended him. Trenchard ‡, Wildman, and Captain Matthews, son-in-law to the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armstrong, were to join him the moment he landed. But the person in whom the Duke of Monmouth chiefly confided, was Mr. Fletcher of Salton; in whom all the powers of the soldier, the orator, and the scholar, were united; and who, in ancient Rome, would have been the rival and the friend of Cato §. Fletcher dissuaded the Duke from his enterprise. Lord Grey urged him to it §.

These preparations made a considerable noise even in Holland: But, as rumours increase by the distance they have to run, they made a much greater in England. James, therefore, applied, by Skelton, his ambassador, to the magistracy of Amsterdam, and afterwards to the

Indifference
of the Prince
of Orange.

* D'Avaux, May 17.

† Lord Grey.

‡ He was secretary of state to King William.

§ The small volume of Mr. Fletcher's works, though imperfectly collected, is one of the very few classical compositions in the English language.

§ Burnet. Ferguson's narrative.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

States General, to stop the embarkation of Monmouth *. But both, under pretence of the forms of office, connived at his escape; either from dislike to James, whose connection with France they dreaded, or from respect to that refuge which they profess to afford to the unfortunate of all nations. The Prince interfered not, excusing himself, because his assistance was not asked, and perhaps not displeased to see one expose himself to ruin who had been rival to the Princess for the succession, the English tried in a cause which was given out to be that of religion and liberty, and disturbances raised which he might himself be called to compose. He even pretended to Skelton, that he gave no credit to the reports of the projects of Argyle and Monmouth, although he knew that the one was gone, and the other just ready to go. James then insisted with the Dutch to seize all the British rebels who had at any time taken refuge in their territories. But † Fagel in public, and the Prince in private, opposed the success of the application. James, in the last place, applied to the Prince for the assistance of the British regiments in the service of the Dutch. The Prince ‡, without giving a refusal, threw difficulties and delays in the way: Soon after, he offered, at one time, to go himself to Scotland, and at another time to England, with his own guards; but received this ambiguous answer to both offers; "That it was more for the King's interest he should remain where he was §." The representation of these things by Skelton, who was personally § an enemy to the Prince of Orange, because he had once injured that Prince, and still more by the French court to James, completed the breach between him and his son-in-law.

Argyle's expedition.

In the mean time, Argyle had landed in Scotland, in May 1685, and to raise all his dependants, erected the

* D'AVAUX, May 10, 11, 19. June 28.

† D'AVAUX, June 7, 1685.

‡ Ibid. May 24, 31. and appendix to

this book. || Orleans.

§ This appears strongly from his

correspondence from France, in the paper office.

fiery cross in Argyleshire, which is a high cross of wood and iron, raised on the top of a mountain, with a blaze of fire on the top; a summons of alarm, used by Highlanders on great occasions. He then published two manifestoes. One of them in his own name, complained of his own injuries, and was intended to rouse his tribe in his cause. The other was in his name and that of his followers, and was calculated to bring the covenanters to his standard: For it imputed the misfortunes of the nation to the breach of the national covenant; maintained, that the King, by not complying with it, had forfeited the crown; and declared, that the chief end of his expedition was the suppression of prelacy as well as of popery. This enterprise was unfortunate in almost all its circumstances. The first land he touched at, the Orkneys, was the most distant part of the country he intended to invade. Most of the people, whom he put on shore for intelligence, were seized, and gave advice of his arrival before he could land. As the Highlanders were, at that time, believers in what is called the Second Sight, a prophecy, that he should have in his custody, James Stuart, of the blood royal (by which name the King went among the covenanters), had made an impression on his mind. But a prisoner, whom Argyle took in the Orkneys, reminded him of this, and told him that the wizard had deceived him, for that the name of his prisoner was James Stuart, and that he was descended from the Earl of Orkney, bastard to James the Fifth *. In sailing round to the West Highlands, tides and winds, even though favourable, consumed time: Government had leisure to make its preparations: And as it was known he would land on the west coast, where both his family-strength, and that of the covenanters, lay, two ships of war were stationed there, to watch his mo-

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript memorandums.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

tions: The whole militia of the kingdom, consisting of 22,000 men, was put in arms; and a third part of it, with 3000 regular forces, was drawn to that side: Such of his friends as were suspected, and could be found, were seized by order of the council: The King, by his proclamations, and more by the known severity of his temper, deterred, and the parliament, by the authority of its declarations, overawed the covenanters, rebellious, yet not daring to rebel. The Earl, however, was soon joined in his own country by about 2000 of his vassals and dependants, who foresaw the ruin, but, according to the manners of their country, were ashamed that their chieftain should fall alone. About 500 other people joined these. Argyle, ignorant of the imprisonment of his friends, and of the terrors of the covenanters, continued, for some weeks after his arrival, in Argyleshire and its borders, rather bustling than in action. But, perceiving by the movements and stations of his opponent, that they intended to confine him where he was, and impatient to join the covenanters, or to be joined by them, he pierced, in the face of his enemies, into the lower parts of the west country. But his ships were taken, in which was his ammunition; his provisions were cut off by the numerous parties which surrounded him; such of his soldiers as had joined him from hopes of plunder, or desire of change, dropping away by degrees, discouraged others; and, in one of his marches in Renfrewshire, his guide mistaking the way, led his army into a bog, where the horses and baggage were lost. In this distress, order ceased; all commanded, none obeyed; every man took his own counsel, and consulted his own safety. His army dispersed. The Earl fled alone to conceal his quality, but resolving, if he was known, to die with his arms in his hands. He was met by two peasants, who called to him to surrender: He fired a pistol at one of them; the other

gave him a wound in the head, which made him fall from his horse: He recovered himself, and ran to a river near the Clyde to swim through: A third attacked him there: The Earl snapped his pistol, but it missed fire: The peasant gave him a blow on the head: He falls, and in falling, cries out, "Unfortunate Argyle!" Struck with the reverse of fate, one of the peasants wept, and insisted to allow him to escape: But the others, terrified by the threats which had been published against those who should give him harbour, refused their consent. He was sent to Edinburgh, and carried up the Canongate to the common prison on foot, bareheaded, with his hands tied behind his back, and the executioner walking before him. The old remembered that he had looked over a window to see the enemy of his family, the great Montrose, pass through the streets in the same unhappy condition; and others, that a few years before, he had rode up the streets at the riding of the parliament held by the Duke of York, in all the pomp of state, carrying the imperial crown of Scotland before the Duke. He was beheaded in pursuance of his former sentence in compliment to the justice of it *, dying with a courage which his posterity inherited †.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

A few days before the disaster of Argyle's army, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lime in Dorsetshire. In his manifesto, he declared the ends of his enterprise were, that parliaments should be annual, and without a power of prorogation in the crown until grievances should be redressed: That sheriffs should be chosen annually by the freeholders: That a national militia should be established, to be commanded by the sheriffs: That no standing forces should be allowed without consent of parliament: And that the charters of corporations should be restored. Thus, while the Scottish manifesto made provision only for a particular mode of the Protestant religion, the English manifesto was directed to the great interests of civil liberty.

Monmouth's
manifesto.

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript.

† Gazettes, Wuddrow.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1689.

But even these generous propofals were disagreeable to the friends of monarchy; becaufe they feemed to impair it too much. The manifesto, in other refpects, was imprudent, By complaining to excefs of the proceedings of the parliament which was then fitting, it provoked the members of that affembly; by giving infinuations of Monmouth's right to the crown, it made the republicans cold in his caufe*; by promifing toleration to all Proteftant difsenters, at a time when the church and the difsenters were not, as they afterwards were at the revolution, reconciled to each other, it was difobliging to the church. Monmouth, by outrageous invectives, feemed to have forgot both the King's dignity and his own. And his junction of interefts with Argyle, who made the covenant the basis of his infurrection, alarmed thofe who were friends to the conftitution in church or ftate.

Monmouth's first
movements.

The Duke was joined by none of the nobility, or gentry of condition, in his operations in England. Some of his friends, whom the Rye-house-plot had eafily marked out, were † feized by government; the reft fled to London, as if their prefence in rebellious places could be accounted rebellion: Trenchard even retired into France: All found an excufe for their defection in the faults which they found, or pretended to find, in the terms of Monmouth's manifesto. But the common people, whofe favourite he had always been, flocked in fuch multitudes, almoft in an inftant, to his ftandard, that he was obliged to difmifs many of them, for want of arms and pay. At firft he was in ftraits for provifions; but Fergufon having affured him, that he would find fubfiftence for one day for the army, if the Duke would give him the command of

* Lord Fountainhall relates in his manufcript memorandums, that when Rumbold was taken in Scotland, he faid, the Duke of Monmouth had ruined his caufe by affuming the title of King, which loft him the republicans, who were his only fure friends.

† Lord Grey.

it for a minute ; and the Duke having consented ; Ferguson gave orders, that the soldiers should observe next day as a solemn fast for success. In the mean time, Colonel Danvers, a republican officer, prepared to make an insurrection in the city. Brigadier Hook, the author of the memoirs, who was afterwards pardoned by King James, followed him into France, and became his secretary there, when he was seized during Monmouth's rebellion, informed James, that Danvers and he had engaged to Monmouth to assassinate him, if they could not bring about the insurrection they meditated.

Monmouth intended the command of the foot for himself, and that of the horse for Fletcher and Lord Grey. The third day after his arrival, he detached Lord Grey with 300 men to storm Bridport, and Fletcher, with another party, on another expedition. Lord Grey's party stormed the town with spirit ; but he himself deserted his men, fled back to the Duke, and reported they were defeated. News soon came that they were victorious. The Duke, confounded, said to Captain Matthews, " What shall I do with him * ? " Matthews answered, " There is not a General in Europe who would ask such a question, but yourself." Yet, modest in his nature, and fearful to offend, the Duke continued Grey in his command. Fletcher, who did not esteem times of danger to be times of ceremony, had, in his expedition, seized, for his own riding, the horse of a country gentleman, which stood ready equipt for its master. The master, hearing this, ran in a passion to Fletcher, gave him opprobrious language, shook his cane, and attempted to strike. Fletcher, though rigid in the duties of morality, yet having been accustomed to foreign services both by sea and land, in which he had acquired high ideas of the honour of a soldier and a gentleman, and of the affront of

He loses
Fletcher

* Ferguson's narrative.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

Monmouth
delays, and
declares
himself
King.

a cane, pulled out his pistol, and shot him dead on the spot. The action was unpopular in counties where such refinements were not understood. A clamour was raised against it among the people of the country: In a body they waited on the Duke with their complaints; and he was forced to desire the only soldier, and the almost only man of parts in his army, to abandon him. With Fletcher, all Monmouth's chances of success in war left him.

The Duke of Monmouth, being accustomed to the formalities observed by regular troops in time of peace, more than to actual war, and not possessed of genius to see, that, in desperate enterprises, sudden movements strike with terror, but that by delays, men recollect their spirits, and in the variety of these, come to condemn that danger which at first they dreaded, would not permit his adherents, who were 6000 in number, and keenly affected to his cause, to fight the militia under the Duke of Abemarle, who were only 4000 in number, and averse from the interest which they were called to defend. With a view to form his men to discipline, his marches were slow, his rests many: Still, as he advanced, he found the numbers encrease of the commonalty who offered him their service. Some of the inferior gentry too joined him. At Taunton, the people strewed his way with flowers and herbs; followed him with acclamations and prayers; adorned their walls with green boughs; and threw open their houses to his army. Twenty-six young maidens, in the name of the town, presented him, on their knees, with a bible and a banner. Monmouth, whose sensibility of temper was too apt to receive impressions either of exultation or dejection, was touched with these demonstrations of affection: The present of the bible he regarded as an omen of his future fortune. Kissing the book, he cried out, "He
" came to defend the truths contained in it, or, to seal
" them

“them with his blood.” And, in this sympathy of mind, he was prevailed upon to yield to the entreaties of many of his followers, who were clamorous that he should be proclaimed King. The argument made use of, and which it was given out had convinced him, was, that the two parties were not upon a level, if, when the one was declared guilty of rebellion by royal proclamations, the other could not intimidate its opponents with the same legal weapons. The immediate exertions of his royalty, were imprudent. He proclaimed Albemarle a traitor, if he did not lay down his arms : He proclaimed all the members of the parliament traitors, if they did not dissolve themselves. The very generality of the threat defeated his design, by insuring those of impunity whom it meant to intimidate.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

June 20.

While Monmouth was engaged in such trifles, the Generals on the King's side had orders to avoid fighting, for the same reasons which should have impelled the Duke to force them to battle. And, in the mean while, James got time to reinforce his army, to obtain an order for the British regiments in the Dutch service, to increase his army in England to 15,000 men, to receive the assurances of parliament for his defence, and the more solid effects of them, a grant of 400,000 *l.* for the services of war.

James takes
advantage of
Mon-
mouth's
delays.

The Duke of Monmouth marched towards Bristol, a city abounding in money, arms, stores, and in his own friends, intending to make an attempt upon it, because he was assured of assistance within : But the Duke of Beaufort, having declared to the citizens, that he would set fire to the town, if they made an insurrection, Monmouth is reported to have said, “God forbid, that I
“should bring the two calamities of sword and fire to-
“gether upon so noble a city !” and marched towards Bath. Sentiments such as these, were not the means, in
times

Monmouth
in despair ;
he retires.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

times of war, to make towns open their gates ; and therefore, when he arrived at Bath, and summoned it to surrender, the citizens shut their gates, killed his herald, and returned a defiance.

From Bath he returned to Frome, where he received, all at one time, intelligence of Argyle's defeat, of the arrival of the Dutch regiments at Gravesend, and that Lord Feversham, with 3000 regular forces, and 30 pieces of cannon, was in full march to give battle to him, who was furnished with neither. He then, at last, perceived the error of his former delays, and the delusions of his visionary monarchy : He hesitated ; now yielding to, and anon struggling against his despondency ; while, on the one hand, he observed the desperate state of his affairs ; and, on the other, considered the ruin of his friends, and the grievousness of his fall, from the estate of a King to that of a fugitive. He asked advice of all persons who approached him : He called a council of his officers ; and in the mean time, wrote pressing to Danvers, to hasten his operations in the city *. Danvers, pretending to take offence at his assuming the crown, answered, " He was " not obliged to keep faith with one who had broken it " with him." But, before this answer arrived, it had been resolved in the council to retire to Bridgewater, in order to wait for a return from Danvers, or to get the better opportunity for a flight beyond seas, if that return should prove unfavourable. Feversham followed him to Bridgewater. In this retreat, the pusillanimous left him ; but most of his army, and all the brave part of it, remained with him. Many symptoms they discovered of feeling for him, what they felt not for themselves : A generosity which pierced the tender mind of Monmouth.

At Bridgewater, he mounted to the top of a high tower, to take the last view of a country, which he foresaw

Battle of
Sedgemoor.

* Lord Grey.

he

he so soon must quit. When there, he espied, by the assistance of glasses, at three miles off, that Feversham's horse and foot at Sedgemoor lay at a distance from each other, and both carelessly encamped, from over-security with respect to a flying enemy. He resolved in an instant to attack them that night in the dark. The plan he formed was prompt and wise: He reserved to himself the attack of the foot who lay nearest him; and ordered Grey, with part of the horse, to make a circuit to a village in which Feversham's cavalry lay, and set fire to the village, in order to distract his cavalry, and with the rest to fall on the back of the infantry, while Monmouth was attacking them in front. Captain Matthews reminded him of Grey's behaviour at Bridport; but, from the easiness and over-delicacy of his nature, he answered, "I will not affront my Lord; what I have given him in charge is easy to be executed." Grey, by some misconduct, for which he never accounted, miscarried in his attempt against the horse, and fled; so that the Duke of Monmouth had to maintain the whole attack with his foot. Captain Hucker, who had joined him in England, fired a pistol in advancing, in order to give an alarm to the enemy; and then rode off to take the benefit of the King's pardon; by which accident Feversham's army received the charge, not unprepared. The Duke's irregulars found a ditch before the royalists, which they did not expect; but forced their way over it, and attacked with intrepidity. Feversham's troops, as often happens in combats with an irregular army, at first gave way, all except Lord Dumbarton's companies of Scotch: But the Duke, by his care to keep his men in order, and to make them fire with regularity, instead of rushing into the ranks of their enemies with their swords, the only weapons by which the superiority which discipline gives to regular over irregular armies can be avoided, lost the advantage: The enemy rallied. At this

this fight, the Duke's followers lost all regard to the orders of their General. Every man pressed where he thought his presence was most needed, but chiefly where he espied the bravest of his friends; using sometimes the musket, sometimes the sword, and often, in the fury of civil dissension, grappling with the body, when weapons failed. But, finding they made little impression, by this desultory engagement, they formed themselves into a solid body; and, laying their shoulders close to each other, and every man encouraging his neighbour, they advanced, stopped, fought, and died together. In this various kind of battle, they maintained their attack for three hours; every soldier and officer behaving as if the fate of the battle depended on his single arm, and not on the army to which he belonged. At length, Feverham's cannon were brought to bear on one of the Duke's flanks, making the greater impression on account of the thick order into which his men had gathered themselves; and, at the same time, the horse, wearied with pursuing Grey, returned, and fell on his rear. Yet his soldiers, although one third of them were fallen, bore those redoubled disadvantages, until all their ammunition was spent; and even then rather ceased to fight, than to keep their ground. The Duke fled; his army only retreated. He galloped from the field of battle for twenty miles together, not knowing where he was going: And then quitted his horse, not resolved where to go. Two days after he was taken without resistance, near Ringwood in Dorsetshire, lying in a ditch covered with ferns, in the habit of a peasant: Some green pease, on which he had supported life, were found in his pocket, together with his George of diamonds. He had not slept for three nights: From exhaustion of spirits, he fainted and wept*.

Monmouth
taken.

* Gazettes. Ralph, with the authorities he refers to.

When

When Monmouth was taken, he wrote a letter to James, pressing earnestly to be brought into his presence; and assuring him, that he had a secret of the utmost consequence to his safety to communicate, but which could be imparted only to himself. This letter has given occasion for various conjectures. It cannot be doubted, that the Prince of Orange might have stopped the preparations of Monmouth: And D'Avaux, so late as the 17th of April, wrote to his court, that he had discovered a secret correspondence of letters between Monmouth and Bentinck the Prince's favourite*. On the contrary, Monmouth's letter to James † disproves the imputation of any personal concert between the Prince of Orange and him: For in that letter he appeals to the Prince and Princess of Orange, that he had often given them assurances he would never act against the King, and lays his own breach of duty upon the instigations of others. But there is good reason to believe, that the secret to which he alluded,

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

Account of
Monmouth's
letter to the
King.

* Father Orleans relates, that Skelton, the English envoy in Holland, found the correspondence between Monmouth and Bentinck among Monmouth's papers. The authority of Orleans is in general ambiguous; for, on the one hand, there is no doubt he got many facts from King James's mouth; but, on the other, when that Prince read his book, he said "Cela ne vaut pas grandes choses;" and therefore, in order to try so capital a fact by the truest test, that of original papers, I went to the paper office for Skelton's correspondence with Sunderland; but Skelton's letters from Holland at this time have not been sent by Sunderland to the secretary's office. The reason of which, as well as of some other chasms in the foreign correspondence of that Lord, at an equally critical period, will be seen in a subsequent part of these Memoirs.

Lord Grey, who had been engaged in a plot to seize Charles II.'s person during the sitting of the Oxford parliament, in the Rye-house-plot, and in Monmouth's rebellion, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower for the last of these crimes, wrote a relation of his treasons by Sunderland's command, for the use of King James. In this relation, he makes no mention of the connection between Monmouth and Bentinck. Some persons impute, to the prudence of this silence, the pardon which Sunderland obtained for him from King James, and the earldom and great offices bestowed on him by King William.

† It is in Ralph, 833.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

was the correspondence which Sunderland held with the Prince of Orange, and that he had himself been encouraged by Sunderland to his fatal enterprize *. Sheldon, of the King's chamber, brother to General Sheldon, related to many, after the revolution, a story, the truth of which James also vouched: Sheldon having been sent by the King to the army with a message to Lord Feverham concerning his prisoner, which Monmouth thought a kind one, Monmouth desired Sheldon to communicate those two secrets to his master. While Sheldon was beginning to inform James of what had passed, Sunderland came into the closet: Sheldon stopped: James bade him go on: Sheldon answered, he had a message from Monmouth, which could be delivered only in private: But James insisting that Sunderland should be privy to every thing which passed between him and the Duke of Monmouth, Sheldon obeyed. Sunderland, throwing himself upon his knee, cried out with emotion, "Your Majesty sees to what calumnies I am exposed by my zeal for your service." It is equally certain, that James, during his exile, believed, that after he had consented to see Monmouth, Sunderland sent Monmouth a private message, in which he informed him, that the King's consenting to see him arose from his resolution to pardon him, and in which he advised him not to hurt his own honour by betraying his friends when there was no necessity for it, but to pretend a desire of changing his religion, to give satisfaction to the King.

The King
sees him.
July 14.

The day after Monmouth arrived at the Tower, he was carried by water to the presence chamber at Whitehall, his arms being bound behind with a filken cord, but his hands free. He threw himself at the King's feet, owned

* What Sunderland's reasons were for advising Monmouth to so wild an attempt, may be known in future ages: At present there are no historical lights to clear up the mist.

the greatness of his offence, and, with many tears, begged his life, reminding James, "That in shedding his nephew's blood, he shed his own:" A commemoration of connection, which, in the hour of friendship, would have given pleasure, now increased the aversion of the King; and he heard and saw his agonies with a stern insensibility. The Duke offered to become catholic;—a flattery which provoked James, by supposing he could be the dupe of it. He communicated no secret; and James believed he had none to communicate. All was silence for a while on the King's part. Yet, from that silence, the Duke derived hopes. These hopes increased, when he was desired to sign a declaration, importing, that the late King assured him he was never married to his mother. He obeyed. James then desired him to name all his accomplices; and, when he hesitated, loaded him with reproaches. The Duke, in a transport of passion, starts from the ground, and quits the royal presence with the air of an equal.

When he came back to the Tower, the love of life returned: He asked for paper, pen and ink, to write again to his uncle. Scott, of Dunbarton's regiment, one of the officers who guarded him, told him, that he had orders not to permit him to write: But upon the Duke's repeating earnestly his request, Scott, who was of the Dukes of Monmouth's family, consented. Monmouth, in this letter, again warned the King against Sunderland. But Blood, who had an office in the Tower, either the same man who had stolen the crown in the late reign, or his son, suspecting Scott from his continuing so long with the Duke, forced him, by menaces, to deliver up the letter *, and carried it to Sunderland, who destroyed

Account of
his other
letters to
the King.

* Scott was of Mr. Scott of Harden's family. He was afterwards a Colonel in the French service. There are men now living in Scotland, to whom he told this story.

PART I. it. Orders were given for the Duke's execution next
BOOK II. day. Monmouth, rendered impatient by the flatteries of
 1685. a fortune-teller, who assured him, that if he outlived that
 day, he was designed by Providence for great things,
 wrote a third letter to James, to beg a short respite of
 his execution. This letter was delivered by Sunderland;
 but the prayer of it was refused.

Anecdotes.

The Duke discovered compunction^s for the neglect
 with which he had treated his lady, who, though not
 beautiful, was possessed of wit and tenderness, and had
 brought him one of the greatest fortunes in Europe; and
 he desired to see her alone. Affecting distance from his
 treasons, and regard for her children, but in reality stung
 with slighted love, even in death, she refused to see him
 unless witnesses were present. Yet, by the tenderness of
 her affection, and her repeated applications for mercy, she
 performed every duty of a wife and a friend. It is a
 family report, that on the morning of her husband's exe-
 cution, James sent her a message, that he would breakfast
 with her. She admitted the visit, believing that a pardon
 was to accompany it. James behaved with fondness to
 her children, and delivered her a grant of her husband's
 estate, which had fallen to the crown by his attainder:
 Strange mixture of indelicacy and generosity *!

Mon-
 mouth's
 execution.
 25th July.

Monmouth was not condemned by the judges, lest the
 sight of him in a court might excite commiseration. At
 his execution, the spectators were innumerable. On his
 first appearance upon the scaffold, he bowed to the people,
 by whom, he knew, he was tenderly beloved; but, from
 regard to the decorum of his rank, addressed them not.
 Deep silences succeeded alternately to murmurs of sighs
 and groans in the spectators, who felt their grief restrained
 by respect when they looked upon Monmouth; but burst
 into tears, as oft as they beheld the sorrowful looks of
 each other. Men of rank are more afraid of pain than of

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript memorandums.

death,

death, and of shame than of either. He expressed anxiety lest the executioner should not end his life at a blow, examining the ax to satisfy himself; and said, "He was afraid to die;" yet asked, "Could any one perceive it by his countenance?" The executioner, awed by the rank of his victim, after several ineffectual strokes, threw away the ax, and could with difficulty be prevailed on to complete his duty. The people, in their tears and prayers, and the contortions of their bodies, seemed to feel those strokes which the Duke no longer felt. Those, who considered the various turns of human things, reflected, that the multitudes who attended his execution would, in a different situation of his fortune, have been shouting after the wheels of his chariot. The decent courage with which he died, shewed how much force the sentiments of personal dignity have over those of nature in men of illustrious birth. In his pockets, after his death, were found spells against danger, songs, and prayers, in his own hand-writing;—papers characteristic of a mind addicted to ambition, pleasure, and superstition. The fondness of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: They believed that one of his friends, resembling him, had consented to lose his life in public, to save that of Monmouth. They started at every rumour of his name; and long expected with impatience when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by order of James, attended the execution. When he gave an account of it to the King, he said, "You have got rid of one enemy; but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sunk deep into his mind.

Two relations were printed by the King's authority; one of the manner of Monmouth's falling into the hands of

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

A relation
of Mon-
mouth's

of

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

mifery pub-
lished by the
King.

of those who pursued him, and the other of his execution, the last of which was signed by the bishops who attended him. In these was described every thing which Monmouth had said or done during those painful periods. Here it was said, "He had taken shelter in a covert surrounded with hedges, but full of outlets to the open country. Of these outlets the guards had taken possession; so that as often as he approached them, which was thirty times, he had been driven back into his concealments." There it was said, "The bishops had pressed him to repent of his connection with Lady Harriot Wentworth; but he had treated his passion for that lady as a matter of respect; and the last act of his life was to send her a love-token. The bishops had pressed him to own on the scaffold to the people, the doctrine of non-resistance; but he answered, He came there to die, not to make speeches. They urged him to pray for the King; but he kept silent. They asked him to join in their prayer for the King: With a careless air he said, Amen." Men were astonished to see, that the person who had the most interest in decency to draw a veil over the agonies of his nephew, was the most anxious to discover them. These things struck the nation with impressions of the severity of James's character. A saying of Aylofffe was everywhere repeated: Aylofffe had stabbed himself in Scotland to escape punishment; but, having recovered, was brought into the royal presence, in hopes that discoveries might be drawn from him. James pressed him to a confession, saying, "You know, Mr. Aylofffe, it is in my power to give you a pardon; therefore say that which may deserve it." Aylofffe answered, "Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon." Aylofffe had been reproached by Lord Dumbarton for his intend-

ed suicide. "I am sorry for it," said Ayloffé, "because
 "it is the only cowardly thing I ever did *."

PART I.
 BOOK II.

1685.

State of par-
 liament.

A few days after Argyle had landed in Scotland, the parliaments of England and Scotland had assembled. From the respect naturally paid to a new reign, with the hopes it inspires and the fears it impresses, most of the members returned were men who were thought to be agreeable to the court; yet the anxiety of the people had mingled with them a great number of the popular party †. Those, by their principles, should have been inclined to promote, and these to oppose, the views of the King. But this parliament exhibited a state of parties which had never before been seen in England. Under protestant princes, the interests of the King and of the church having been the same, the friends of both were united in favour of the crown;—a connection which produced the saying of James I. "No Bishop, no King." But, under a Prince who publicly professed the popish religion, many of the tories smothered their attachment to monarchy, and their antipathy to popular innovations, in their fears for religion: And hence in this parliament, the distinction between a state-tory and a church-tory first appeared in public. Many of the whig members, on the other hand, hoped, by making reasonable concessions to the crown, to gain the king to his people, and reconcile him to themselves ‡.

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript memorandums.

† Vide the list in Eachard, p. 744. and the Duke of Monmouth's letter in Welwood, p. 378.

‡ The Duke of Monmouth's letter to his confident Spence contains these words: "It's to me a vain argument, that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider, That fear in some, and ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the parliament being made up for the most part of members that formerly run our enemy down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom."

The

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

Opening of
parliament.

The ambiguity of James's intentions in the few steps he had taken; the hopes raised by some of them; the jealousies not removed by others; produced an anxiety in the minds of all men, to hear the first words of the sovereign from the throne to the great council of the nation. James being graceful in figure, and in public though not in private speech, all eyes were fixed upon him when he rose; but uncertain of his sentiments, his subjects checked the natural effusions of favour to dignity and majesty, until they should hear what he was to say. He began with repeating, and pathetically, the same words he had made use of on the first day of his reign in his declaration to his privy council, to maintain the established laws and religion: The audience looked with joy and with pride, alternately on their sovereign and on each other. He then urged reasons of state for the settlement of the late King's revenue upon himself: Murmurs of assent were heard through the hall. But when he concluded with hints so strongly marked, that they were in reality threats, of governing by prerogative, and not by parliaments, if that revenue was denied, the looks of men, which in popular assemblies can never be disguised, sunk at once into disappointment and dejection. His concluding words were these: "There is one popular argument which I foresee
" may be used against what I seek of you, from the inclination men have for frequent parliaments, which
" some may think would be the best secured, by
" feeding me from time to time by such proportions
" as they shall think convenient. And this argument
" (it being the first time I speak to you from the
" throne) I will answer once for all: That this
" would be a very improper method to take with me;
" and that the best way to engage me to meet you
" often, is always to use me well. I expect, therefore,
" that

“ that you will comply with me in what I have desired;
 “ and that you will do it speedily, that this may be a short
 “ session, and that we may meet again to all our satisf-
 “ factions.”

PART I.
 BOOK II.
 1683.

The leaders of the different parties in parliament, how-
 ever, had gone too far in the communication of their
 sentiments and intentions, to be able to retract. The
 tories urged the interests of the crown for the settlement
 of the revenue : The whigs perhaps flattered themselves,
 that by granting with frankness what they were not able
 to withhold, they should throw the greater odium upon
 the King, if, in return for parliamentary confidence, he
 should make any invasion upon the civil or religious in-
 stitutions established by parliament. All were sensible;
 that the necessities of the late King had obliged him to
 apply to France for relief. Many were pleased with
 the report at that time industriously spread about, that
 James had detached himself from Louis XIV. and joined
 interests with the Prince of Orange : And some were
 afraid lest their opposition might be construed into an in-
 clination to favour the projects of Monmouth and Argyle;
 which were not then suppressed. The house of commons
 therefore voted the settlement of the late King's revenue,
 amounting to £ 1,200,000, upon James during life, on
 the same day that he asked it ; and, soon after, upon his
 application for a further provision for public uses, they
 revived some old, granted some new impositions, and
 settled both upon him for life. By these grants, added to
 his own settlement as Duke of York, he was possessed of
 an annual revenue of two millions a year, besides the re-
 venues of Scotland and Ireland : A revenue greater than
 any King of England had possessed from the time of
 William the Conqueror's death.

Revenue
 settled.

But though the commons discovered so much confi-
 dence in the King in money matters, some distrust of

Dispute
 about reli-
 gion.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

him appeared with regard to religion *. A motion was made for the further security of the protestant religion : It was referred to the grand committee for religion : The committee, when very full, resolved unanimously to move the house " to stand by the King in the support " and defence of the *reformed religion of the church of " England* with their lives and fortunes ;" and to address him " to put the laws in execution *against all dissenters " whatsoever* from the church of England." The court opposed the motion : A vehement debate ensued ; but the dispute was compromised by a resolution of the house, which, at the same time that it paid the King the compliment of an unbounded confidence, was meant to intimate to him the firm attachment of those who framed it to the religion of their country. The resolution was in these words : " That the house relies on his Majesty's " word and repeated declaration, to support and defend " the religion of the church of England, as it is now by " law established, which is dearer to us than our lives." Left the last words of this resolution should not make sufficient impression on James, the speaker, when he presented the revenue-bill, remarked, that the commons had passed that bill, without joining any bill to it for the security of their religion, though *that was dearer to them than their lives*. James took no notice of these words, either in the address of the commons, or in the speech of their speaker.

The houses
differ about
the reversal
of Stafford's
attainder.

In the house of lords, an attempt was made to please the King, in a way of all others the most agreeable to him. Oates had lately been pilloried, whipped, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in consequence of a clear proof, that he had perjured himself in the evidence which he gave in the late reign, in support of the popish

* Journ. house of commons, May 27.

plot. Upon this a motion was made in the house of lords to reverse the attainder of Lord Stafford, because, by the conviction of Oates, it was now become plain, that the evidence on which Stafford had been condemned was false, and even the popish plot itself a mere fiction. The principles of mercy, justice, and religion, called aloud for reparation to Stafford's memory and family. On the other hand, that reparation could not be made without throwing disgrace upon four succeeding parliaments, which had prosecuted and punished the plot as a reality, and upon the whole party of the whigs, and many of the tories. The debate lasted three days in the house of lords. Honour prevailed in men of noble birth, and they voted to reverse the attainder. But prudential considerations prevailed among the commons: Reflecting, that no popish victories could with safety be indulged in a popish reign, they received the bill with coldness; and after the first reading, it was dropped: Soon after, the parliament was adjourned until winter.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

But while the members of the English parliament were taking delicate and guarded measures to gain their sovereignty, and yet not to lose their own characters, the parliament of Scotland, which met a little before that of England, had rushed into servility with a promptitude which lessened, even in the King's eyes, the value of the compliment, and with an affectation of zeal which created in the public a suspicion of its sincerity. In proportion as any man was high in his birth or station, or even character, he strove for expressions of flattery and motions of servility. Men of inferior figure vied with each other, who should be the first to propose what had not been thought of by their superiors, lest they should appear to have been only led in the general surrender, which they foresaw was to be made of their country's rights.

Excess of
loyalty in
Scottish par-
liament.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

James, in his letter to the parliament, made a distinction between them and his English subjects, which could not be pleasing to the latter : For he said, that he had called them together “ to give them an opportunity, not only “ of shewing their duty as formerly to him, but of being “ *exemplary to others* in their compliance with his desires :” And, to make his meaning plain to both nations, when he spoke of the extent of his prerogative, he added these words : “ Which I am resolved to maintain in its greatest “ lustre.” The Lord Chancellor Perth concluded his speech with exhorting the parliament to advance the greatness of the King “ by all the endeavours of their lives “ without reserve.” As the terms which men made use of in public, when they spoke of the state or prerogative of the crown, were at that time marked, because they were the tokens of party sentiments, it was observed how similar these words, *without reserve*, were to the conclusion of the Oxford address, which promised obedience to the King *without any restrictions or limitations*. The speech of the Duke of Queensberry, the King’s commissioner, and the tone of all those who could be supposed to speak the language of the court, were full of promises to the national interest, and of flattery to the national character of the Scotch.

The Scotch, in this parliament, renewed the laws against protestant dissenters, and added new severities to them : They extended the laws of treason : They obliged all the subjects, under high penalties, to take the oath of allegiance, which maintained the doctrine of passive obedience ; an oath which, in the late reign, had been imposed only on persons in public trust : They settled the late King’s revenue upon the Crown for ever ; and gave James a new one during his own life : They passed an act, in which it was said, “ The blessings the nation then enjoyed, were owing to the *solid absolute authority* where-
“ with

“ with their Kings were invested, by the first and fundamental laws of their monarchy.” In this act, “ They expressed their abhorrence of all principles which are contrary or derogatory to the King’s *sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority.*” And they resolved “ to give entire obedience to the King, *without reserve.*” — But the act contained something more solid than the expression of principles : For it obliged all the men in the nation, from sixteen to sixty, “ to be in readiness to attend the King in arms, where, and as oft as he should require.”

The noise of this excess of loyalty in the parliament of Scotland soon reached England, creating every where jealousies and fear. But these proceedings of the Scotch parliament were sound, and no more. By the constitution of that assembly, it was no representation of the sentiments of the great body of the nation ; because the commons made no separate assembly. By the forms in which business was conducted, its acts were not even representations of its own sentiments ; because the Lords of articles had a negative before debate *. But the sentiments of the Scottish nation were far different from those expressed to the public in the proceedings of this parliament. Many in the higher ranks of the nation, reflected upon the independence of their ancestors, national glories, their own importance lost. The lower orders of the people, which consisted mostly of presbyterians, cherished in their breasts secret and deliberate revenge for the punishment of their persons, and the proscription of their religion. The presbyterian clergy, who alone were popular, oppressed by the government, but supported by the people, found their pleasure and their interest in complaining. So that, with the appearance of a whole nation, and a warlike one,

* Vide an account of the constitution of the Lords of articles in Part 2d of these Memoirs.

at James's feet, the only persons in whom he could confide in Scotland, were the personal friends he had gained whilst he resided there *; and these indeed were numerous and firm; the Roman Catholics who were few in number; and the servants of the crown; and, in many of these last, he could no longer confide, than it was for their interest to support him. These proceedings in Scotland, therefore, only betrayed to the English the inclinations and views of James, but gave no additional strength to the monarch.

Kirk's cruelty in the west,

While the parliaments of both kingdoms were, in the capitals, vying with each other, in giving proofs of their affection to the King, scenes of a very different nature were passing in the remoter counties of England. Fever-sham, after Monmouth's defeat, hanged up, without any trial, twenty prisoners; and Colonel Kirk, nineteen.—Kirk, with a savage refinement, made a sport of the murders he committed. Having a gallows erected at his

* James gained numbers of the Scotch by familiarity. He had long disgusted them by his distance: The change in his manners was owing to an accident: When the Dutchess of York came first to Scotland, she one day observed three covers upon the dining table. She asked the Duke for whom the third cover was intended? He answered, For General Dalziel, whom he had asked to dine with him. The Dutchess refused to permit a private gentleman to sit at table with her. Dalziel, who had been in the Imperial service, entered the room in the mean time; and, hearing the scruples of the Dutchess, told her, he had dined at a table where her father had stood at his back; alluding to the Duke of Modena's being a vassal of the Emperor. The Dutchess felt the reproof, and advised her husband not to offend the pride of proud men.

Dalziel was a singular character of the last age. He once struck an officer on the parade: The officer waited on him next day, and desired him to receive his commission. "I understand you," said Dalziel; "you are entitled to satisfaction, and you shall have it." They exchanged shots. The officer fired a second time, and then called to Dalziel to do so. The General answered, "It will be to little purpose: I did not charge with ball: God forbid I should injure you twice." The officer advancing said, "I have got too much satisfaction, and I beg back my commission."

door, he used, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drunk to the health of the King, or the Queen, or Judge Jeffreys. When he saw the feet of the dying shake, in the last agonies of departing life, he said, "They should have music to their dancing;" and ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarter in the country, without distinction between the innocent and the guilty; and these instruments of his violence he named, in derision, "His lambs." These proceedings were, in the eye of law, robberies and murders; yet in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them.

Jeffreys, now ennobled, was the judge who tried the prisoners on the western circuit: A man cruel in his temper, brutal in his manner, and a contemner of every thing that is decent. A power was given to him in his commission, to command the forces in the west; so that the terrors both of the law and of the sword were united in his person. In this circuit, he shed that blood with pleasure, which the law intends should be shed with pain. In his preliminary charge to the grand jury at Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he charged them to enquire after "not only all principals," but "*all aiders and abettors* of those who had been concerned in the rebellion:" A charge which moulded the jury-men to his will, by the consideration of their personal safeties; because there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends or relations in distress. He pressed the prisoners to confess, "to save himself trouble," as he expressed it. And some of those who resisted his entreaties, and were found guilty, he ordered to be executed the same day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail upon the

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

Jeffreys's
cruelty.

the prisoners to confess, with promises of pardon : When the prisoners adhered in court to their confession, they were condemned to be hanged : When they retracted, these officers were evidences at hand to prove the confession. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jeffreys declared with a jest, " That, if any lawyer or " parson came in his way, they should not escape him." One of the prisoners moving an objection to a witness, Jeffreys interrupted him with these words : " Villain, re- " bel, methinks I see thee already with a halter round " thy neck." The evidence against Mr. Hewling being doubtful, the justice of peace, who had given information against him, remarked it to Jeffreys, and interceded in his behalf. Jeffreys answered, " You have brought " him on ; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." When this gentleman's sisters * hung on the wheels of his coach, to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip.— The mayor of Taunton interposed with Jeffreys for Speke, a gentleman in whose case there were circumstances of favour. " No," cried Jeffreys, with a violent motion of his arm, " his family owes a life, and he " shall die for the sake of his name." Yet one of Jeffreys's executions escaped censure. Hucker, who had given the alarm to Feversham's army, when Monmouth was advancing upon it, pleaded his treachery in alleviation of his rebellion : But Jeffreys told him, " He deserved a double " death ; one for rebelling against his sovereign, and the " other for betraying his friends †."

In the course of these trials, a sad spectacle was exhibited : Two women were condemned to be burnt alive,

* Granger Biog. Hist. v. 2. p. 543.

† A Lady interceded on her knees for the life of Mr. Battison her lover : Jeffreys answered, " When he is quartered, you shall have that part of his " body which I know you like best." Ralph, with the authorities he quotes.

of indulging the sweetest of female virtues, compassion for the distressed. Mrs. Gaunt, a tradeswoman in the city, had formerly saved the life of one of her neighbours, named Burton, who had been engaged in the Rye-house-plot, by getting him conveyed beyond sea. This man having escaped from the battle in which Monmouth was defeated, she prepared a second time to shew him the same kindness, and supplied him with money besides. Burton, being afraid that his escape beyond sea might be prevented, turned upon his benefactress, and became evidence against her. Men of all parties exclaimed, "That the manners were corrupted by the laws; for that perfidy was protected and generosity punished." Lady Lisle had given refuge to Hicks, a dissenting clergyman, who had begged the protection of her house, and trusted his life in her hands. She was widow to Lord Lisle, one of the regicides, who, on that account, had been assassinated in Switzerland. She was taken by Colonel Penruddock, whose father had been adjudged to death by Lord Lisle, for his attachment to the royal cause. With equal spirit and tenderness, though above seventy years of age, she exclaimed at her trial and execution, "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The person whom I received under my roof, was convicted by no sentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him? My own principles have ever been loyal. None in England shed more tears for the death of the King's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to serve the present King: But, although I could not fight for him, my son did, against the Duke of Monmouth. I sent the son to atone for the offences of the father: It was I who bred him up to fight for his Sovereign: With my last breath I will

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

“blefs that life which takes away mine *.” Jeffreys, in his charge to the jury, admired the juſtice of God, which had made Penruddock the inſtrument of ſhedding blood for blood. The jury returned into court with doubts, becauſe there was no proof of her knowing that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jeffreys told them, that her receiving him, after ſhe ſuſpected it, was equivalent;—and, when they found her guilty, he ſaid †, “If ſhe had been my mother, I would have returned the ſame verdict againſt her.” Two tory Peereſſes ‡ applied for her pardon, declaring that ſhe had done favours to their party, in their greateſt extremities: But Jeffreys, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promiſe from James not to pardon her, by aſſuring him, that all her pretenſions to loyalty were falſe: The only favour ſhe obtained was to be beheaded, not burnt. One thouſand were condemned to die; of whom a fourth part fell by the hands of the executioner. The other puniſhments were numerous and rigid. The marks of vengeance remained, even when it could be exerted no longer: For, in the country villages where Jeffreys paſſed, places in which far other ſhews uſed to be ſeen, the heads and limbs of fathers and brothers were expoſed upon towers and gibbets, to the view of the inhabitants, who were perhaps themſelves the moſt humbling ſpectacle of the two: For fear ſuſpended in them all the duties of nature: In every neighbour they dreaded an informer, and were obliged to hide their grief, leſt their loyalty ſhould be doubted. Of all who were brought to trial for Monmouth’s rebellion, Lord Delamere was the almoſt only man who was acquitted, and this only becauſe, being of noble birth, he was tried by a jury of nobles, who ſcorned to take

* Lady Liſle’s trial and laſt ſpeech.

† State trials, 513. vol. 3.

‡ Ibid. 514.

their directions from Jeffreys. Though guilty, he escaped by the crime of Saxton, one of the witnesses against him, who, from over-anxiety to reach the prisoner, involved himself in perjury. One of the King's letters to the Prince of Orange * concerning this vile person, marks the severity of his temper; for it expresses his intention to get Saxton pilloried by one trial for perjury, and hanged by another for rebellion. These severities of Jeffreys, frightful even to those to whom he committed their execution, were imputed, at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone. But other causes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign. It was then made appear, that he had exacted a present of 15,000*l.* for himself from Mr. Prideaux, a Devonshire gentleman, for not bringing him to trial †.

A historian would chuse to draw a veil over the proceedings of Jeffreys, so painful to recite, did they not serve to remind the judges of other ages, that the decorum and dignity of princes should be mixed with the tenderness of women, in the expression of their manners.

The furies of Kirk and Jeffreys seemed at this time to have infected even those of milder professions: A clergyman of the church of England, having been entreated to apply for mercy in his brother's behalf, answered coldly, "I cannot speak for a fanatic." Yet some there were who retrieved the national character of humanity: While

* Vid. Letter of January 15, 1686, in Appendix to this Book.

† Journals house of commons, Nov. 30, 1690. Jeffreys carried with him to the circuit a buffoon called Wiseman to amuse him. Wiseman complained to him one day in their cups, that though Jeffreys liked his company he took no care of him. Jeffreys happened at the time to have a list of the condemned persons in his hand. He threw it across the table, and desired Wiseman to pick out a person to be pardoned, adding "a word is enough to 'a wise man.'" Wiseman, it may be well imagined, did not fix upon the poorest person in the list, and made his fortune. The amiable author of *Hermes* told me this story. His uncle, Colonel Beaumont, was in the company.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

other men of high figure in the church were pouring forth their zeal against rebellion at court, Kenne, bishop of Bath and Wells, though unquestionable in his attachment to the King, and who, in proof of it, quitted his bishopric in the next reign, continued in his diocese *, spending days and nights in prayers with the prisoners, relieving their wants, although he was poor himself, and respecting the principles of others, because he had principles of his own.

In Scotland, only two executions followed that of Argyll; because, as there had been no battle, there were few prisoners; because the fidelity of the highlanders to each other prevented informers and their prejudices to the cause of their chieftain made them proper objects of pity to government; but chiefly because there was no Jeffreys at that time in that country. About 200 were attainted: Most of these took refuge in Holland; and afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, at the revolution.

The excessive rigour of punishment destroyed those morals which it was intended to amend. There is a letter from Rumbold to Walcot, upon the discovery of the Ryehouse-plot, still existing †, in which he thanked Walcot for not betraying him. And yet Rumbold, in his last speech at Edinburgh, denied the share he had had in that plot; and his last words were these: "Death is terrible indeed! But to me it has no terrors. With my God I have made my peace: To no man have I done injustice: What then have I to fear ‡?"

Prosecutions for the
Ryehouse-plot.

After so many trials for or recent, it was thought hard to begin new ones for former offences: Yet Cornish, one of the obnoxious sheriffs of the late reign, and Bateman,

* Life of Bishop Kenne, p. 16, and 52.

† This letter is dated August 2, 1683, and is in the Paper-office. It laments the bad success of the conspiracy, thanks Walcot for concealing his name, and contains these words: "It is not unknown to any of us, with what zeal and sincerity you led us on, whilst there was any hopes of succeeding."

‡ Woodrow,

who had been surgeon to Shaftesbury, were both executed for their accession to the Rye-house plot; and Lord Grey having consented to become evidence against his friends, which supplied a second witness against Hampden, Hampden was brought to a new trial, accused of high treason, before the same judge, and for the same offence, for which, as a misdemeanour, he had been already tried, convicted, and punished. In despair, he pleaded guilty. It was a sad spectacle to the generous of all parties, to see the grandson of the great Hampden entreating the meanest of mankind to interpose with the King for his life. Satisfied with the humiliation, because it was worse than death, Jeffreys obtained his pardon from James. Lord Brandon was convicted also of being accessory to the Rye-house-plot, but pardoned on account of his want of importance.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

The noise of the rigours of the western circuit raised more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation brave, and therefore generous. Those who were attached to the honour of the King, excused him, by saying, that he knew nothing of them till it was too late. The excuse which James made for himself was, that he had sent other judges with Jeffreys, and also Pollexfen, a man connected with the whigs, in quality of counsel for the crown: And at an after-period of his life, he indulged the strange suspicion, that Kirk's share of these cruelties had been committed with a view to make his master odious. It is certain, that when Lord Keeper North made complaints of what Jeffreys was doing*, James gave orders to stop them; and that he complained until the day of his death†, of the unpopularity which Kirk and Jeffreys had drawn upon him. It is equally certain, that Jeffreys often followed his own opinion alone in matters within his department: For, when Major Holmes,

James's
apologies for
these cruelties.

* Life of Lord North, p. 260.

† Duke of Buckingham.

PART I. who had been engaged in the Rye-house-plot, and in the
BOOK II. late rebellion, was carried before James, that Prince,
 1685. being struck with his age, his manly look, and more
 manly manner, told him, he might make himself easy,
 no harm should befall him. After this, Holmes was
 often seen in the antichamber at court; but, having been
 missed for some time, it was found, upon inquiry, that
 Jeffreys had caused him to be seized secretly in London,
 and conveyed to the circuit, where he was put to death.
 The King's enemies, on the other hand, reported a fact
 but too true *, that he was accustomed to repeat the cruel-
 ties of Jeffreys with jocularly to his courtiers in the circle;
 and that, in the same strain, he called this circuit "Jef-
 freys's campaign." Soon after the return of Jeffreys to
 London, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor;—a
 promotion which discovered either approbation of his con-
 duct, or too great a contempt of popularity in his master.

* Vide two of his letters to the Prince in Appendix to this Book, in the
 next Volume.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





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